Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-105
Wednesday
1 June 1988

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-105 *1 June 1988*

CONTENTS

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

CEMA Secretaries Open Consultations in Budapest *[MTI]* 1
Grosz Meets With USSR's Slyunkov *[MTI]* 1

ALBANIA

Agriculture Minister Thomai Visits Algeria 2
Received by Agriculture Minister 2
Meets With Bendjedid 2
Meets Prime Minister Brahimi 2
Joint Cooperation Committee Meets 3
Cooperation Agreement Signed 3
FRG Ambassador Hosts Reception on National Day 3

BULGARIA

BTA Declaration on SRV Troops Withdrawal 4
Mladenov Departs Iceland for New York 4

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Relations With UAE To Be Established 5
USSR Official Arrives 30 May 5
Further on Greek President Sartzetakis' Visit 5
Husak Dinner Speech *[RUDE PRAVO 26 May]* 5
Gives Dinner Speech *[RUDE PRAVO 26 May]* 6
Visits Bratislava *[RUDE PRAVO 27 May]* 7
Meets With CSSR Officials 8
Departs 28 May 8
Husak Praises Visit 8
Greek TV Interviews Husak 8
Indra-Led Delegation Visits Morocco 9
Received by Moroccan King 9
Departs 30 May 9
Indra Reviews Visit 9
Strougal Talks With Bangladesh's Chowdhury *[RUDE PRAVO 25 May]* 10
Jakes Arrives in MPR From DPRK 10
Milos Jakes Visits Mongolian People's Republic *[cross-reference]* 10
Jakes Pays Official Visit to North Korea *[cross-reference]* 10
Briefs 10
Private Taxis in Prague 10

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CDU/CSU Bundestag Official Meets Honecker 12
Briefs Press on Talks 12
Claims Liberalization Planned *[Hamburg DPA]* 13
Further on Visit of Romanian Premier Dascalescu 13
Meets Honecker 13
Romanian Reportage *[AGERPRES]* 14
Talks With Stoph *[AGERPRES]* 14

Economic Accord Signed 15
Romanians Report Signing *[AGERPRES]* 15
Ends Visit 31 May 15
Romanian Military Chief Leads Delegation Visit 15
Meets Honecker, Kessler *[AGERPRES]* 15
Tours Air Base *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 26 May]* 16
Speaks at War College *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 27 May]* 16
Bulgaria's Atanasov Honors Stoph at Dinner *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 26 May]* 16
Stoph Toasts Atanasov *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 26 May]* 18
Cooperation Pact Signed 20
Bulgaria Reports Signing *[BTA]* 20
Ends Visit 27 May 20

HUNGARY

Berecz Address at MSZMP Conference Published *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 23 May]* 21
Nemeth Address at MSZMP Conference Published *[NEPSZABADSAG 22 May]* 23
Austria's Mock Continues Official Visit 25
Holds 'Cordial' Talks With Grosz 25
Meets Church, State Officials 25
Communique on Visit Issued *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 30 May]* 26
MTI Reports Communique 26
Further Reportage *[cross-reference]* 27
Federation of Romanians in Hungary Hold Meeting *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 20 May]* 27

POLAND

RZECZPOSPOLITA Comments on Moscow Summit *[Berezowski, 28-29 May]* 28
PAP Cites Warsaw Press on Summit 28
USSR's Lizichev, Delegation Arrive 29
Bulgarians Congratulated on Treaty Anniversary *[TRYBUNA LUDU 28-29 May]* 29
Trade Unionists Leave for Geneva ILO Meeting 30
West 'Turning Blind Eye' to Political Changes 30
Western Reaction to Strikes Assessed 30
Kuron Describes Strike Activities *[Rome L'ESPRESSO 15 May]* 31
Press Cited on Walesa, School, Solidarity *[POLITYKA 28 May]* 33
PZPR Plenum in Gdansk Discusses Socioeconomics *[TRYBUNA LUDU 25 May]* 34
Economic Reform Committee Holds Meeting 34
Council of Ministers Meets on Messner Visit 34
Central Control-Revision Commission in Session *[TRYBUNA LUDU 27 May]* 35
Czyrek Speaks to Lodz Plant Workers *[TRYBUNA LUDU 25 May]* 36
Baryla Addresses Rawa Mazowiecka Workers *[TRYBUNA LUDU 25 May]* 36
Ciosek Warns Opponents of Reforms, 'Anarchists' *[TRYBUNA LUDU 26 May]* 36

YUGOSLAVIA

Further Reportage on 2d Day of LCY Conference 38
Socioeconomic Relations Group Meets 38
Development Group Confers 43
Further Reportage on 3d Day of LCY Conference 50
Discussion Groups End Meetings 50
Groups Criticize Leadership 50
Slovene Coup Rumors Discussed 51
Varoslija Reports on Petitions 51
Brigic Discusses Proposals 53
Krunic Closes Conference 59

CEMA Secretaries Open Consultations in Budapest

LD0106092988 Budapest MTI in English
0753 GMT 1 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 1 (MTI)—The secretaries in charge of economic policy issues of the Central Committees of the communist and workers' parties of the CMEA member countries started a consultation in Budapest on Wednesday. The delegations which arrived in Budapest on Tuesday are exchanging views on the topical issues of CMEA cooperation.

The Hungarian negotiating group is headed by Miklos Nemeth, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee.

Grosz Meets With USSR's Slyunkov

LD3105211688 Budapest MTI in English
1912 GMT 31 May 88

[Text] Budapest, March 31 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Tuesday Met Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and secretary of the Central Committee, who arrived in Hungary to attend the conference of Central Committee secretaries dealing with economic policy issues of the fraternal parties of the CMEA member states.

Nikolay Slyunkov forward the cordial greetings of Mikhail Gorbachev. The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee wished much success to implementing the policy statement of the party conference, renewing the activity of the HSWP, and strengthening its role fulfilled in the social changes.

On behalf of the HSWP Central Committee, Karoly Grosz thanked the CPSU leadership, the Soviet mass media organs for the attention that surrounded this major event of Hungarian home political life in the Soviet Union. He stressed that extensive agreement has come about in the party and in society in the fundamental issues. The conditions are more favourable to launch a firm and dynamic activity, to implement the standpoint of the party conference, to consistently realize the reform efforts in economy, in political life.

The general secretary of the HSWP wished much success to the leaders of the CPSU, to Soviet Communists for the 19th CPSU party conference, for continuing the revolutionary transformation, democratization. He evaluated the theses of the party conference as a realistic, reformatory document of major importance which serves the political and economic renewal of Soviet society. Numerous elements in it can also be utilized in the activity of the HSWP.

On behalf of the Hungarian party and government, Karoly Grosz welcomed the fact of the Soviet-American summit, and stressed: Hungary is also interested in the successful conclusion of the meeting, and that it lay the foundations for further progress in the main issues of disarmament, in strengthening the favourable tendencies of international life. In proportion with its possibilities, the Hungarian People's Republic wishes to continue to promote the cause of peace, and expand East-West dialogue and cooperation.

Discussing the Hungarian-Soviet relation, Karoly Grosz stressed: "The conditions increasingly exist to raise Hungarian-Soviet cooperation to a qualitatively higher level, in accordance with the interests and demands of the two countries."

It was stressed at the discussion that, relying on the hitherto results of Hungarian-Soviet relations, the HSWP and the CPSU strive for intensive exchange of experiences, to update economic cooperation, and expand contacts between the Hungarian and the Soviet peoples. The sides mutually stressed they attach major importance to the visit of Karoly Grosz to the Soviet Union, scheduled to take place in the coming days.

Also present at the cordial, comradely meeting were Miklos Nemeth, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, and Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary.

Agriculture Minister Thomai Visits Algeria

Received by Agriculture Minister

AU2705113888 Tirana ATA in English
0915 GMT 27 May 88

[Text] Tirana, May 27 (ATA)—On May 26, the minister of agriculture of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic, Mohamed Rouighi received the minister of agriculture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Themie Thomai, and had a cordial and friendly talk with her.

The Algerian minister spoke of the friendly relations existing between our two countries and emphasized that Albania enjoys special respect in Algeria. Your struggle, he said, your revolution and constructive work are greatly evaluated by our people. He also spoke of the fruitful cooperation between the two countries in the field of agriculture and said that this cooperation can be further promoted, as for instance in the field of vineyards, olive growing, etc. We may profit from the Albanian experience for the development of the agriculture in the hilly and mountainous zones.

The minister of agriculture, Themie Thomai, acquainted the Algerian friends with the development of agriculture in our country as well as the prospects opened to it in the future. She said that there are all the possibilities to intensify the cooperation between Albania and Algeria, as in the field of arboriculture, genetics and seeds, the technology of augmenting poultry productivity, etc.

Attending this reception were senior functionaries of the Ministry of Agriculture. Present were also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Algiers, Dhimiter Stamo, as well as the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic in Tirana, Rachid Haddad.

Meets With Bendjedid

AU3005125788 Tirana ATA in English
0945 GMT 30 May 88

[Text] Tirana, May 30 (ATA)—On May 29, the president of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic, Chadli Bendjedid, received at the seat of Presidency Themie Thomai, minister of agriculture, who is in Algeria as leader of the Albanian delegation that attends the proceedings of the first session of the Albanian-Algerian Joint Committee on Economic, Scientific, Technical, and Cultural Cooperation. The Algerian president, Chadli Bendjedid, expressed his satisfaction over the visit of the Albanian delegation in Algeria and said that Albania is known in Algeria and that the Algerian people respect, sympathize with, and cherish friendly and fraternal sentiments for the friendly Albanian people, who have constantly supported and backed up the struggle and efforts of the Algerian people for freedom and independence. Our people, he said, have a proverb which goes saying that "Good friends are known in difficult times," therefore we always recall this backing, appreciate and consider it as a basis for the all-sided development of the relations between our two countries. We express our satisfaction over the successful development of the first session of the Albanian-Algerian Joint Committee and wish that the relations and cooperation between our two countries strengthen and expand more and more, making use of all the existing possibilities. This is the wish of our two peoples and countries.

On her part, the minister of agriculture, Themie Thomai, conveyed to the president, Chadli Bendjedid, the friendly greetings of the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, as well as his wishes for the happiness and prosperity of the friendly Algerian people. She expressed the sentiments of friendship the Albanian people cherish for the Algerian people and the conviction that the relations and cooperation between the two countries will expand and strengthen more and more in the interest of our two peoples.

President Chadli Bendjedid, after thanking for the greetings on the part of Comrade Ramiz Alia, asked to convey his best greetings to the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, Ramiz Alia, as well as his wishes for the prosperity and happiness of the Albanian people.

Attending the reception were Mohamed Cherifi, minister of trade, Rachid Haddad, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic in Tirana, as well as Dhimiter Stamo, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Algiers.

The reception passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Meets Prime Minister Brahimi

AU3005125888 Tirana ATA in English
0955 GMT 30 May 88

[Text] Tirana, May 30 (ATA)—The premier of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic, Abdelhamid Brahimi, received on May 28 the minister of agriculture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Themie Thomai.

During the reception, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, it was spoken on the friendly and fraternal relations existing between our two peoples and countries and the desire to further develop and materialize the relations of cooperation between Albania and Algeria in various fields of common interest.

Attending the reception was also the minister of trade, Mohamed Cherifi. Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania

in Algiers, Dhimiter Stamo, and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic in Tirana, Rachid Haddad.

Joint Cooperation Committee Meets

AU3005125988 Tirana ATA in English 0958 GMT 30 May 88

[Text] Tirana, May 30 (ATA)—The first session of the Albanian-Algerian Joint Committee for the Economic, Scientific, Technical, and Cultural Cooperation was conducted in Algiers on May 28. For the Albanian side the Commission was headed by the minister of agriculture, Themie Thomai, whereas for the Algerian side by the minister of trade, Mohamed Cherifi.

In the opening speech, the Algerian trade minister expressed the satisfaction over the convocation of this committee and the participation of the delegation from the friendly Albania. He expressed the confidence that the proceedings of the session will be successful and that concrete steps will be undertaken in various fields of the relations and cooperation between the two countries.

On her part, after thanking for the warm and friendly reception extended to the Albanian delegation in Algeria, the minister of agriculture, Themie Thomai, spoke of the relations of friendship and cooperation existing between Albania and Algeria and expressed the desire that they be further materialized and extended in the future, in various fields of mutual interest.

On May 28, the minister of heavy industry of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic, Faysal Boudraa, received the minister of the agriculture of the PSR of Albania, Themie Thomai, and had a warm and friendly talk with her. On this occasion opinions were exchanged on the possibilities of development and cooperation between the two countries in the field of industry and trade.

Attending the reception were the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Algiers, Dhimiter Stamo, and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic in Tirana, Rachid Haddad.

Cooperation Agreement Signed

AU3105190788 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 31 May 88

[Text] The agreement for economic, scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria was signed in Algiers today. Within its framework, a government agreement for scientific and technical cooperation, a protocol for cooperation in the fields of agriculture, oil, and gas, a trade agreement, and the protocol of the first session of the Joint Albanian-Algerian Commission for Economic, Scientific, Technical, and Cultural Cooperation were also signed.

The documents were signed for the Albanian side by Themie Thomai, minister of agriculture, and the protocol for agricultural cooperation was signed for the Algerian side by Mohamed Rouighi, minister of agriculture. The other documents were signed by Mohamed Cherifi, minister of commerce. Dhimiter Stamo, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Algiers, and Rachid Haddad, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, Rachid Haddad, took part in the signing ceremony.

A banking agreement between the Albanian State Bank and the Algerian Central Bank was also signed in Algiers today.

During her stay in Algiers, Themie Thomai was received at separate meetings by Boubakeur Belcaid, minister of higher education; Belkacem Nabi, minister of energy and the chemical and petrochemical industries; and Boualem Bessaieh, minister of culture and tourism. The meetings discussed cooperation between the two friendly countries in the fields of higher education, energy, and culture, and opportunities for further extending this cooperation in fields of mutual interest were discussed at these meetings.

Dhimiter Stamo, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Algiers, and Rachid Haddad, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria in Tirana, also took part in these meetings, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

FRG Ambassador Hosts Reception on National Day

AU2505190388 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] On the occasion of Constitution Day, Friedrich Kroneck, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the FRG to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, held a reception in the Dajti Hotel.

Attending the reception were Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade; Farudin Hoxha, minister within the Presidium of the Council of Ministers; Professor Aleks Buda, chairman of the Academy of Sciences; Professor Sofokli Lazri, director of the Institute for the Study of International Relations; Leandro Zoto, chairman of the Tirana District People's Council Executive Committee; Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs; representatives of the press, culture, and foreign trade enterprises, and other guests. Heads and officials of the diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania were also present.

BTA Declaration on SRV Troops Withdrawal
AU3105185188 Sofia BTA in English
1741 GMT 31 May 88

["BTA Declaration"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 31 (BTA)—Several days ago the Governments of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea decided to withdraw by the end of this year 50,000 Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea making up half of the Vietnamese troops situated in that country in implementation of the agreements reached between the two countries. The headquarters of the Vietnamese troops of volunteers will also be withdrawn over the same period and the remaining volunteers will pass under the command of the Kampuchean People's Army till their final withdrawal in 1990.

It has also been provided for the setting up of a 30 km peace zone along the Kampuchean-Thailand border in which there will be no Vietnamese troops. These actions are being taken totally unconditionally and observers from all interested countries and international organizations have been invited to witness their implementation.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria assesses the new constructive initiative as an eloquent continuation of the peaceful foreign policy of Vietnam and Kampuchea aimed at a just settlement of the Kampuchean problem by peaceful means. The decision of the two friendly countries for the withdrawal of half of the Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea is a considerable constructive contribution to the settlement of the regional conflict in Southeast Asia, to easing the tension and to normalizing the situation in that part of the world.

This important political step ensues from the good will and sense of responsibility of the governments of Vietnam and Kampuchea corresponding to the real interests of the Kampuchean people and the peoples of all states in the region. Undoubtedly it creates favorable conditions for further advance of the dialogue between Kampuchea's Prime Minister Mr Hun Sen and Prince Norodom Sihanouk, and for the beginning of negotiations between all Kampuchean sides taking part in the conflict, in the spirit of the agreements between Vietnam and Indonesia of August last year.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria greets and supports completely the new initiative of the Governments of Vietnam and Kampuchea and thinks that it opens real possibilities for advance in the political settlement of the problems around Kampuchea on the basis of the existing realities, for realization of the policy of national reconciliation and expresses hope that the interested sides will respond positively and will cooperate to the restoration of peace and understanding in this part of the world.

Mladenov Departs Iceland for New York
AU3105184288 Sofia BTA in English
1754 GMT 31 May 88

[Text] Sofia, May 31 (BTA spec. corr.)—Completing his official visit to Iceland today, Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, gave an interview for the Icelandic Television—Channel 1. He answered to a number of questions related to the problems of disarmament, Bulgaria's policy in the Balkans and to the processes of restructuring.

Answering to a question on the prospects of the trade relations between Bulgaria and Iceland the Bulgarian foreign minister stressed that possibilities exist for increasing the barter between the two states.

Later on Mr Petur Mladenov left for New York where he will take part in the Third Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament as a leader of the Bulgarian delegation. He was seen at the airport by his colleague Mr Steingrimur Hermannsson.

Relations With UAE To Be Established

LD3105161988 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 31 May 88

[Text] The Governments of the CSSR, the UAE, guided by the joint effort to strengthen and develop friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries, have decided to establish diplomatic relations at embassy level with effect from June 1988.

USSR Official Arrives 30 May

LD3005224688 Prague CTK in English 1925 GMT 30 May 88

[Text] Prague May 30 (CTK)—Vsevolod Murakhovskiy, first vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union and chairman of the State Agricultural-Industrial Committee (Gosagroprom), arrived here for a working visit today at the invitation of Czechoslovak Minister of Agriculture and Food Miroslav Toman.

Vsevolod Murakhovskiy and Miroslav Toman discussed the deepening of cooperation between the two branches, especially in the sphere of modernizing the food industry, and restructuring the economic mechanism in the agricultural and industrial complex in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

The Soviet representative was received also by Minister of Metallurgy and Heavy Engineering Ladislav Gerle to discuss cooperation in the sphere of farm and food industry machinery, and by Frantisek Pitra, alternate member of the Presidium and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee.

Further on Greek President Sartzetakis' Visit

Husak Dinner Speech

AU2705121988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 May 88 p 2

["Speech" by CSSR President Gustav Husak at dinner for Greek President Khristos Sartzetakis in Prague on 25 May]

[Text] Esteemed Mr President, esteemed Mrs Sartzetakis, esteemed guests, comrades,

Permit me, on behalf of the Czechoslovak people, the government, as well as on my own behalf, to cordially welcome to Czechoslovakia the head of the Greek state, President Khristos Sartzetakis, with his spouse and their retinue.

Mr President,

We greet you, the highest representative of a country which we hold in esteem and which we respect for its historical contribution to European culture and enlightenment, as well as for its peace policy and the endeavor to deepen friendship and cooperation among the nations of Europe and throughout the world.

Our talks today reaffirmed the unanimity or closeness of our countries' standpoints on the most important problems of the present, and the determination to contribute to and intensify the positive trends which are beginning to assert themselves in the sphere of international policy. In this we are linked by the common interest in ensuring world peace and international security, in strengthening tendencies aimed at reducing confrontation and creating the necessary trust.

We appreciate the Greek Government's realistic approach to disarmament issues, its decision to remove nuclear weapons from its territory, its attitude of rejection toward the militarization of space and the plans to upgrade NATO's nuclear and conventional arsenals.

We value Greece's important activity in the Group of "Six." We support the efforts of this group, especially its proposals to halt the testing, production, and stationing of nuclear weapons, to substantially reduce conventional forces in Europe, and speedily conclude a convention banning and scrapping chemical weapons.

We sincerely welcome and support all initiatives and proposals which contribute to the strengthening of positive trends in international developments. We attach particular importance to the reduction of armed forces and conventional armament on the European continent. Our view is that appropriate talks should begin this very year.

We pay assiduous attention to the improvement and development of relations and cooperation in Europe. We are trying to contribute to the common effort of a number of states and social movements with our proposal to create a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations on the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states. We proceed from our conviction that mutual trust should be the foundation of relations among states which belong to different military-political groupings. We think that prejudice and mutual suspicion, which were in the foreground in the past, can be overcome by various contacts, agreements, and actions in the nonmilitary sphere.

Czechoslovak-Greek relations are marked by a good standard of cooperation, especially in the political sphere, and by the bilateral interest in their further development. Dialogue on various levels has been revived in recent years. I would like to recall, in particular, Andreas Papandreou's open and useful talks in Prague in 1984, and Lubomir Strougal's in Athens 2 years later.

Our mutual relations are being complemented by meetings of representatives of parliaments, government officials, and social organizations. The Greek-Czechoslovak Society and the multifaceted friendship contacts between cities play an important role in deepening friendship and understanding between the people of our countries.

Our talks today affirmed that there are considerable possibilities to deepen the economic cooperation further. We see these in the development and use of cooperation and joint ventures. It is pleasing that also the cooperation in science and scientific-technical development is also gradually beginning to evolve.

The wealth of our countries' cultural traditions and the variety of their cultural lives create prerequisites for also expanding relations in this sphere. We will be pleased to welcome Greek artists, cultural workers, and their works in Czechoslovakia.

In conclusion, permit me to express the conviction that your current visit will contribute to the further all-round development of relations between the CSSR and the Hellenic Republic. We are sincerely interested in strengthening and developing the existing good results of cooperation on the basis of mutual trust, respect, equality, and understanding.

Gives Dinner Speech

AU2905143288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 May 88 p 2

["Speech" by Greek President Khristos Sartzetakis at dinner given in his honor in Prague 25 May]

[Excerpts] Mr President, my spouse and I are very glad—thanks to your kind invitation—to be in your beautiful country. Our joy is also enhanced by the fact that this is the first visit paid by a head of the Greek state to this country, which is rightly called the heart of Europe. This characteristic expresses not only its geographical position almost in the center of the European continent, but it has certainly a broader implication in view of the fact that your country was the crossroad of not only war encounters, but also of the confrontation of ideas. [passage omitted]

Since time immemorial Greece has been an exclusively peace-loving country, building its foreign policy on the foundations of mutual respect for individual states, regardless of the socioeconomic system these nations have chosen. Such mutual respect is expressed by absolutely respecting the sovereignty and national independence of other nations, renouncing interference—also indirect indifference—in internal affairs, unconditionally rejecting the use of force or threatening with force, and unqualifiedly condemning this way as an instrument for resolving international disputes. We also believe that the elimination of international injustice, that is, of any signs of it, and the adoption of measures for eliminating it, can be assured only by uncompromising observance of the written principles and usage of international law, particularly the UN Charter and the Atlantic Charter, as well as the stipulations enshrined in bilateral conventions and treaties. The Helsinki Final Act has an important place here. It is obvious that only the principles of international law and the stipulations of international conventions determine the framework of objectively acceptable international legality. Only by observing the aforementioned principles of international conduct can we serve the cause of international peace, an ideal which truly moves human conscience, and whose preservation and ensurance all nations of the world without exception wish for. We, the Greeks, are proud of the fact that this ideal originates from ancient Greece. Peace was worshipped there, altars and statues were dedicated to peace.

There are many examples of the realization of such a peace-loving policy which Greece constantly advocates. The whole world is aware of the activity of our country through the instrumentality of our current Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, and the well-known initiative, to which international reaction has been so favorable. [sentence as published] In the Balkan region an effort aimed at Balkan cooperation is in the foreground. The recent meeting of ministers of foreign affairs of the all Balkan countries in Belgrade gave this effort concrete shape. This is the first such meeting in history. Greece's contribution, as well as our effort aimed at creating a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans, is known in this connection.

Regarding Greek-Turkish relations, our recent efforts at reducing tension are known. These relations, despite our permanent wish that they always be normal and friendly, also underwent periods of disturbing crises. Our effort, expressed at the recent meeting of the two countries' prime ministers in Davos and Brussels, is the evidence of our resolve to avert the possibility of a confrontation which would have uncontrollable consequences in any case. Consequences which could even endanger world peace. This, of course, does not mean that we relinquish the legitimate entitlements due our country from international law and international conventions. We are not prepared to discuss these legitimate entitlements ever or with anyone. Also our proposal to Turkey to submit the issue of the territorial [vysostne] zone of Greek islands in the Aegean, on which Turkey has cast doubts, to the International Court in The Hague, can be included in the framework of our permanent interest in resolving disputes with peaceful means only.

Regarding the Cyprus issue, one has to say that this is our national problem for more reasons than just the fact that 82 percent of the inhabitants of this island—which has been Greek since time immemorial—are Greeks. In addition to being a natural security issue for us, the Cyprus issue is an international problem of unlawful military aggression and occupation of roughly 40 percent of the independent Republic of Cyprus, a member of the United Nations for 14 years now, during which time

fundamental human rights have been violated. This aggression and occupation have been repeatedly condemned by the appropriate bodies of the international community (the General Assembly, the UN Security Council, and so forth). Their resolutions are not complied with, of course. It is obvious that the solution to this problem which drags on can only be ensured by the observance of resolutions, the departure of foreign occupation troops from Cyprus, as well as of foreign immigrants, who total almost 60,000 today. They were brought there after the Turkish aggression within the framework of a program for changing the ethnic composition of the populace of Cyprus. It is necessary to restore the fundamental right of movement, domicile, and employment anywhere on Cyprus to all Cypriots. International guarantees and demilitarization could eliminate mistrust and concern of all, and ensure the existence of an integral, independent, and peaceful Cyprus in this so sensitive region.

I still would like to present our standpoint on problems in our geographical region. On the Middle East issue, Greece supports the just demand of the Palestinian people for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state with, at the same time, the right of all countries in the region to peaceful coexistence in mutually secure and internationally recognized borders being ensured. Regarding the Lebanon issue, here we see the departure of all foreign troops and the restoration of territorial integrity and national sovereignty to this so much suffering country as being the only solution. In the case of the nonsensical Iran-Iraq war, where inhuman means of mutual destruction have been deployed of late, and where the inalienable rights of third countries are imperiled, we are in favor of immediately ending the conflict and beginning peace talks on the solution of all disputes.

Our firm standpoints in the fundamental issue of curbing the nuclear competition and nuclear tests, and in the issue of effective control and limitation of the arms buildup, including conventional weapons, are generally known. We are of the opinion that instead of squandering resources on acquiring new or perfecting the existing means of destruction, they must be used for more humane purposes, such as supporting economic, social, and cultural progress, especially in the backward countries and throughout the world in general.

I am glad that your country, too, is led in the main issues of international life by peace-loving efforts, which are identical with or very close to ours.

Regarding the level of our bilateral relations, one has to note their considerable development, especially in recent years. The mutual visits on the highest level have decisively contributed to this. A number of cooperation agreements was signed, for example in the sphere of health, tourism, and road transportation. The Long-Term Program for Economic, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation, signed during the Greek prime minister's visit to Prague in 1984, is an important document. One has to say that there still exist possibilities to expand our friendly cooperation. And this, precisely, is the purpose of my current visit. I am very happy to be able to note that the talks we conducted proceeded from a bilaterally identical political will. I believe that this also will be the case with the talks that will follow, and that we will succeed in elevating our relations of friendship and cooperation to a higher plane.

Therefore, permit me once more to warmly thank you for the cordial reception and exemplary hospitality.

Visits Bratislava

AU3105142588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 May 88 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "Khristos Sartzetakis in Bratislava"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—Khristos Sartzetakis, president of the Hellenic Republic, who is on an official visit to the CSSR, arrived in Bratislava on Thursday [26 May] before noon, accompanied by his wife.

At Bratislava airport, the Greek president was greeted by Viliam Salgovic, chairman of the Slovak National Council, and Peter Colotka, premier of the Slovak SR. [passage omitted]

At Bratislava Castle, over which the Greek national flag was flying for the first time, the Greek president met with Comrades Ignac Janak, Viliam Salgovic, and Peter Colotka. [passage omitted]

Viliam Salgovic acquainted the guests with the results achieved by Slovakia in all spheres within socialist Czechoslovakia and with the program of its further socioeconomic and cultural development outlined by the 17th CPCZ Congress. [passage omitted]

Khristos Sartzetakis voiced pleasure at being able to visit Bratislava, which is twinned with the Greek city of Salonika where he was born and spent a substantial portion of his life. He said that the profound relations of friendship between our nations have their roots precisely in Salonika, from where the brothers Cyril and Methodius came. [passage omitted] Greece and Czechoslovakia have always been in the same camp against the forces of evil, he continued. The peaceful policy pursued by Greece, especially in the last few years, also falls into this framework, he added.

Peter Colotka gave a festive luncheon in honor of the Greek president and his wife.

In their speeches, the two statesmen recalled the similar destinies of the people of the two countries, their many years of struggle for the removal of foreign oppression and for national and social elevation of the people. They noted with pleasure the promising development of mutual relations in the last decade, when cooperation in all spheres of life has been endowed with new life. At the

same time, they also referred to the hidden reserves that exist in implementing higher forms of economic and scientific-technical cooperation. Peter Colotka appreciated the contribution of Greece to the positive development of the international situation and its realistic stands on the questions of disarmament. As Khristos Sartzetakis stressed, although the two countries have different social systems, there is nothing that would divide them and many things that they have in common. [passage omitted]

The program for the Greek president's stay in the capital of the Slovak SR ended with a brief stroll through the historical part of the city and with a sightseeing tour of its new construction.

The guest was accompanied by Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, and Frantisek Salda, head of the CSSR President's Chancellery. [passage omitted]

The same day, the Greek president returned to Prague.

In the evening Khristos Sartzetakis and CSSR President Gustav Husak watched a performance of Verdi's opera "A Masked Ball" in the Smetana Theater in Prague. [passage omitted]

Meets With CSSR Officials

LD2705132188 Prague CTK in English
1235 GMT 27 May 88

[Text] Prague May 27 (CTK)—Visiting Greek President Khristos Sartzetakis, who arrived here Wednesday, met today with representatives of the Czech Government and the Czech National Council. The Greek statesman was accompanied by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek, head of the Presidential Office Frantisek Salda and other officials.

Czech Deputy Premier Jaroslav Tlapak acquainted the Greek guest with the state system in Czechoslovakia and the life of the Czech people.

The Greek president stated that the two governments' attitudes towards improvement of the living conditions of the people are similar, and gave as examples the free-of-charge system of education in Greece, the establishment of the national health care system, and special pensions granted to farm workers. But also the hopes of the two nations, regardless of the different social systems, are identical and in harmony with the expectations of many other nations. They wish detente, peace and cooperation. The Greek president's visit to Czechoslovakia proves that the Greek Government's policy is also based on these principles.

Departs 28 May

LD2805214488 Prague CTK in English
1550 GMT 28 May 88

[Text] Prague May 28 (CTK)—Greek President Khristos Sartzetakis today ended his four-day official visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak and left for home.

He was seen off at Prague airport by President Gustav Husak, Premier Lubomir Strougal and other officials.

Husak Praises Visit

LD2805214788 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 28 May 88

[Text] Gustav Husak, president of the Republic, gave an interview today to Greek journalists who accompanied [Greek President] Khristos Sartzetakis during his visit to Czechoslovakia. Comrade Husak said the following during the interview, among other things:

[Begin Husak recording] We are very satisfied with the visit by the president of the Hellenic Republic. I believe that it took place in a cordial atmosphere which corresponds on the whole to the relations and contacts between Czechoslovakia and the Hellenic Republic, which have improved substantially, especially during the past few years.

In our talks we touched on all possible issues, including bilateral ones. We noted that a great deal has already been done in this respect but that there is still sufficient scope to improve further political, economic, cultural and other contacts and that we shall continue to work along these lines. I would say that the visit by the Greek president has deepened further such a climate between our two countries and relations between our peoples.

As far as international issues are concerned, the views of both the Greek representatives and ours are very close or similar or even identical in regard to the questions of peace in the world, disarmament issues, and the issues of easing tension, or simply in regard to creating a better climate in international relations, which both Greece and Czechoslovakia are striving a great deal to bring about. I can therefore say that the visit is a very positive contribution to our mutual relations. [end recording]

Greek TV Interviews Husak

LD2905164088 Prague CTK in English
1438 GMT 29 May 88

[Text] Prague May 29 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak voiced great satisfaction with the visit to Czechoslovakia by Greek President Khristos Sartzetakis, in an interview given to Greek television at the close of the visit yesterday.

The visit took place in a cordial atmosphere corresponding to overall relations between Czechoslovakia and Greece which have considerably improved especially in the past few years.

As for international issues, both sides share very close and even identical views on questions of peace in the world, disarmament, detente—simply on ensuring a better climate in international relations. Both Czechoslovakia and Greece actively strive for this goal, Gustav Husak said and added that the visit was a very positive contribution to the two countries' mutual relations.

Asked about Czechoslovakia's effort for deepening the atmosphere of confidence in the world, Gustav Husak underlined that "Czechoslovakia has all reasons—existential and also historical—to strive for a peaceful solution of problems in Europe and the world. Therefore we support all efforts directed towards this aim," Gustav Husak said.

Mentioning the meeting of CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S President Ronald Reagan, Gustav Husak voiced the hope that it will prolong the positive trend launched in the past period and that it will positively influence the world policy and other countries. "Therefore we strongly support also Greece's proposals submitted by Premier Andreas Papandreou, the proposals of the New Delhi "Six" and many others concerning nuclear, chemical, space and other disarmament. We do not approach these questions passively. We submit our own proposals for the creation of a zone free of chemical weapons, a nuclear-free corridor, the creation of a zone of confidence along the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO," Gustav Husak said and emphasized that Czechoslovakia's aim is "to create an atmosphere of confidence also in petty human problems which could then influence and contribute to the solution of the crucial issues of disarmament. We therefore with all our heart support peaceful settlement in Europe and the world," the Czechoslovak president stressed.

Indra-Led Delegation Visits Morocco

Received by Moroccan King

LD3005203488 Prague CTK in English
1620 GMT 30 May 88

[Text] Rabat May 30 (CTK correspondent)—At the end of a four-day visit to Morocco, the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly delegation, led by its chairman Alois Indra, was received here Monday by Hassan II, the king of Morocco.

The two statesmen expressed interest in the further development and deepening of a political dialogue and Czechoslovak-Moroccan relations.

They exchanged views on topical international issues and stated that the two countries are of identical or similar opinion of them. They also expressed hope that the current summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Moscow will bring other impluses to disarmament, detente and peaceful cooperation.

Departs 30 May

LD3005220088 Prague CTK in English
1950 GMT 30 May 88

[Text] Rabat May 30 (CTK correspondent)—A delegation of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly led by Chairman Alois Indra ended today its four-day visit to Morocco and left here for Prague.

Indra Reviews Visit

LD3005162688 Prague CTK in English
1529 GMT 30 May 88

[Text] Rabat May 30 (CTK correspondent)—The recent visit to Tunisia and Morocco by a Czechoslovak parliamentary delegation was described by leader of the delegation, Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Chairman Alois Indra, as successful and likely to boost effective cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the two African countries.

In an interview for CTK at the end of the visit, Alois Indra said the talks in Tunis and Rabat had given an impulse to more flexible and effective trade and economic cooperation, and the sides also sought to intensify contacts in culture, education and health services.

During talks in Tunisia, the two sides agreed to promote inter-parliamentary relations also outside the framework of the exchange of official delegations, Alois Indra said, adding that at all meetings the delegation had witnessed interest in broader and closer cooperation with Czechoslovakia.

He appreciated Tunisia's approach to the solution of Middle East problems. On the other hand, the Czechoslovak delegation was assured of Tunisia's support for the peace proposals of the socialist countries and particularly the Czechoslovak initiative to create a zone of confidence and cooperation on the borderline between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries.

Referring to economic and trade cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Tunisia, Alois Indra said it had declined in the past few years and its structure changed to the detriment of Czechoslovakia's engineering exports. However, during the visit conditions have been created for a certain positive shift and for a more pronounced participation of Czechoslovak enterprises in the industrialization of Tunisia.

As regards the Czechoslovak delegation's talks in Morocco, Alois Indra said their results should be seen soon both in beneficial inter-parliamentary relations and in cooperation in the economy and other spheres.

He said that the volume of trade between the two countries has been growing, and prerequisites are to be created for its further increase, especially in exports of Czechoslovak engineering products, and for expanding economic cooperation. A new agreement on economic and scientific-technological cooperation is being prepared.

Alois Indra said the two sides had close opinions on the settlement of international problems, and added that Moroccan officials had supported the Czechoslovak proposal to establish a zone of confidence and cooperation on the line dividing Warsaw Treaty and NATO states.

Strougal Talks With Bangladesh's Chowdhury

AU3105123988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 May 88 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "Comrade Gustav Husak Received Bangladesh Minister of Foreign Affairs; Comrade Lubomir Strougal also Met With Humayun Rashid Chowdhury"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal received Humayun Rashid Chowdhury, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, at Prague's Hrzane Palace the same day [24 May].

Their extensive and critical talk was devoted, above all, to bilateral relations which, especially in the trade and economic sphere, have not been making use of the favorable political climate which prevails between our countries. The two statesmen agreed that there is a realistic opportunity to multiply the trade exchange, expand Czechoslovak participation in the program for the industrial development of Bangladesh, and make use of modern forms of cooperation in the not too distant future. A number of concrete proposals was put forward for the expansion of relations, which will be subject to further expert talks.

Lubomir Strougal expressed appreciation for the foreign-political positions of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, its activity in the south Asian region, and its active role in the Nonaligned Movement. Humayun Rashid Chowdhury stressed Czechoslovakia's already traditional friendship for his country from the moment it proclaimed its independence. He also expressed thanks for the long-term assistance which we are extending to Bangladesh. He voiced the wish that the number of political, economic, and cultural activities between our states would increase, thus improving mutual knowledge and the effectiveness of cooperation. On behalf of the premier of the People's Republic of Bangladesh he invited the CSSR premier to pay a visit to his country.

The reception was attended by Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, and Ali Kaiser Hasan Morshed, ambassador of the People's Republic of Bangladesh to the CSSR.

Jakes Arrives in MPR From DPRK

LD3005080688 Prague CTK in English 0710 GMT 30 May 88

[Text] Pyongyang May 30 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes today ended his official friendly visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea at the invitation of Korean Workers' Party General Secretary and President Kim Il-song.

Milos Jakes and his entourage were seen off at the airport of the capital by Korean Workers' Party Politburo member and Deputy Premier Pak Sung Chul and other party and state representatives.

Ulaanbaatar—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes arrived here today for an official friendly visit to Mongolia at the invitation of Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party General Secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural Jambyn Batmonh, who was at the airport to welcome him.

Milos Jakes Visits Mongolian People's Republic

For media coverage of the visit of Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes to the Mongolian People's Republic, including talks held with President Batmonh, see the Mongolia section of the 1 June East Asia DAILY REPORT.

Jakes Pays Official Visit to North Korea

For coverage of Milos Jakes visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, including a banquet speech, see the North Korea section of the 31 May East Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Briefs

Private Taxis in Prague

To balance the discrepancy between supply and demand for taxis in Prague (the CSSR capital has a ratio of 860 inhabitants to 1 taxicab, while the provision of adequate services requires a ratio of 500 to 1), the Transportation Enterprises of the Capital Prague will employ, effective 1 June 1988, 40 drivers for part-time work. These employees, who will drive their private vehicles (mostly Soviet-made VAZ automobiles), will be able to provide taxi services only during designated hours, visibly displayed

in the cars' interior, mostly during evenings, nights, and work-free days. Each driver will be allowed to work up to 91.5 hours a month. The cars of these secondary occupation drivers will be easy to identify, as they will display extra yellow license plates and a yellow identification on the roof. Otherwise, the drivers will be subject to the same regulations as regularly employed taxi drivers. According to the management of the Transportation Enterprises, this "novelty" is also designed to limit the scope for unauthorized "black" taxi drivers. [Summary] [*AU2905091288 Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 24 May pp 1,2*]

CDU/CSU Bundestag Official Meets Honecker

LD2705195088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1512 GMT 27 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 27 May (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, met Dr Alfred Dregger, chairman of the CDU/CSU Bundestag group and member of the CDU Presidium, in the Council of State building in Berlin today.

The partners in the talk expressed their satisfaction at being able to continue the dialogue held at Gymnich Castle on 8 September 1987 in Berlin. Alfred Dregger conveyed greetings from Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, which Erich Honecker reciprocated.

Erich Honecker noted that since the meeting in September 1987 there had been hopeful beginnings in international developments, even though the situation remained complicated. Both politicians were in agreement in positively assessing the treaty between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of their intermediate-range missiles and they acknowledged the contribution by both German states to bringing about of this treaty, which must be followed by further measures. In this connection Erich Honecker pointed to the transformation of the military installations in Waren into a trade union holiday home. Erich Honecker stressed that the USSR, the GDR, and the CSSR had made a considerable advance concession with the early withdrawal and destruction of Soviet intermediate-range missiles.

Starting from the joint commitment to do everything possible so that war will never again emanate from German soil, Erich Honecker and Alfred Dregger emphasized the responsibility for peace of both German states. They welcomed the accord between the GDR and the FRG on a number of important issues of the disarmament process, such as the need to halve strategic offensive weapons and for a worldwide ban on chemical weapons.

Both politicians expressed the hope that there would be further progress in disarmament and the safeguarding of peace at the forthcoming summit meeting of Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Moscow.

Erich Honecker said that the GDR strongly supported proceeding from zero option to zero option. He shared Alfred Dregger's aversion to nuclear short-range missiles, nuclear artillery, and multipurpose weapons. There was agreement that the two German states were affected to a greater degree by these weapons systems. The relevant conclusion must be drawn from this: that, above all, there must be a renunciation of efforts toward modernization of weapons systems and towards "compensating" for the intermediate-range missiles.

Erich Honecker stressed the GDR's great interest in conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals. Concrete negotiations on this should be started as soon as possible. Both politicians agreed that the proposals to bring about the nonoffensive capability of NATO and the Warsaw Pact were of great importance.

Erich Honecker stressed that the socialist and capitalist states must get on well with one another in the common European home. The common will for this constitutes the common foundation.

Erich Honecker and Alfred Dregger assessed very positively the developments set in motion as a result of Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG in September 1987. The joint communique on the visit was being implemented. Erich Honecker emphasized the GDR's willingness to continue of the path of dialogue and cooperation that has already been embarked on.

The talk was held in a businesslike and open atmosphere. Taking part were: State Secretary Frank-Joachim Herrmann, head of the chancery of the chairman of the State Council; Guenter Rettner, director of the International Politics and Economics Department of the SED Central Committee; and Karl Seidel, dirctor of the West Germany Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Also present were the head of the FRG Permanent Mission, Dr Hans Otto Braeutigam; and Dr Hans-Joachim Berg, a colleague of Alfred Dregger.

Briefs Press on Talks

LD2705201788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1613 GMT 27 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 27 May (ADN)—Immediately after his meeting with State Council Chairman and SED General Secretary Erich Honecker, Dr Alfred Dregger, chairman of the CDU/CSU Bundestag group, told the press that the atmosphere of the talks had been very good. The meeting was linked to the meeting held during Erich Honecker's visit to Bonn last year. Three topics had been discussed then: freedom of movement, security, and the rescue of national cultural monuments. These had now been extended to include questions of economic cooperation. With regard to the first group of issues, a development could be noted that no one would have thought possible 10 years ago. General Secretary Honecker had voiced his determination to stick to this course.

On the topic of security and disarmament, Alfred Dregger pointed to his statements during the first meeting in Bonn. For both German states it would have been better if the start of nuclear disarmament had begun with nuclear systems with a range under 500 km instead of those with a range between 500 and 5,000 km, because the shorter range missiles threaten us especially, the chairman of the CDU/CSU group said. He is working for consideration of the inclusion of these short-range systems in the further process of disarmament.

The elimination of chemical weapons was also discussed, Alfred Dregger said. He had put forth the standpoint of his government, which wants total and global elimination of chemical weapons, although verification risks were connected with this. There was a high degree of agrement in this sphere, the CDU politician said.

Herr Honecker had, in harmony with the Warsaw Pact, spoken about the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. Dregger said that for him this was not a concrete objective as long as there was an imbalance. But, he said, we were in agreement that there should be as few as possible, and that the reduction should take place, particularly with regard to shorter-range missiles. In response to a question, Alfred Dregger said that many of the FRG's allies had the idea that what was eliminated in the intermediate-range sphere could now be replaced in the short-range sphere. We have emphatically rejected this, the CDU politician said.

The improvement of traffic links between the two German states had also been discussed, he said. Asked about economic cooperation between the GDR and the FRG, Dr Dregger replied that the present state of affairs had been discussed. Erich Honecker had given a positive forecast for the development of the GDR economy. Dregger had stressed the Federal Republic's interest in deepening these relations.

In response to another question Alfred Dregger stressed—and he said he believed he could say the same also for Herr Honecker—that the talks were useful for both sides and should be continued. They had briefed one another on the thinking in their military alliances so that, in awareness of the positions of the other, they could put forward common interests—and there are such—in the alliance systems. Both states had a vital interest in there being no more war. A small, densely populated country could suffer nuclear destruction but could not be defended by nuclear means. Our interest in peace is a vital necessity for existence, Dregger said, and added: We are in full agreement in this conviction. Mutual awareness of this is very important, so that we for our part can make our contributions, which we have in fact done in past years, in our alliances. He said he would of course brief the federal chancellor and the parliamentary group on his talk with Erich Honecker.

Claims Liberalization Planned

LD2705163488 Hamburg DPA in German 1509 GMT 27 May 88

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—According to the chairman of the CDU/CSU lower house group, Alfred Dregger, the GDR is preparing draft regulations for visits to the West. These regulations would, if they were put into force, give GDR citizens a clear indication of when they could expect permission to travel, Dregger reported following a 1-hour talk with state and party chief Erich Honecker in East Berlin on Friday afternoon. Honecker brought up this topic himself. The precise contents and timing of the introduction of such regulations did not, however, appear to be settled yet, Dregger said.

In general, Honecker has shown a determination to continue the policy of greater travel opportunities for GDR citizens. He had expressed the view that the more comprehensive the guidelines were and the more predictable the future possibilities were, the more the pressure to travel would ease, Dregger explained.

The head of the FRG's permanent mission in East Berlin, Hans Otto Braeutigam, who was present at the talks, reported that Honecker had stressed the financial and economic burdens on the GDR arising from cross-border traffic. At the same time, Honecker assured that in spite of these problems the GDR wanted to continue on the course it has taken.

According to Dregger, other topics covered in the meeting with Honecker were security policy issues, the preservation of national cultural monuments in Germany, and economic cooperation between the two German states. He indicated the need to include short-range nuclear missiles with ranges up to 500 km in deliberations on the future disarmament process. There was agreement on the goal of reducing these systems. [passage omitted]

Further on Visit of Romanian Premier Dascalescu

Meets Honecker

LD3105132588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1100 GMT 31 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 31 May (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and GDR State Council chairman, on Tuesday received for a friendly talk Constantin Dascalescu, premier of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and member of the Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee.

Erich Honecker and Constantin Dascalescu paid tribute to the high level of development of their bilateral relations and stressed the decisive role of the close cooperation between the SED and the RCP in the further development and deepening of relations. They expressed their conviction that their bilateral cooperation will continue to develop successfully on the basis of the agreements reached and in accordance with the decisions of both parties, to the benefit of both states and in the interest of socialism and peace.

In the international arena, thanks to the dynamic peace policy of the Warsaw Pact states, a change for the better was beginning to emerge. The most important task now is not to permit a pause in the disarmament process. The nuclear disarmament process, begun with the intermediate-range missile agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States, must be made irreversible. The

whole of peace-loving mankind is expecting further progress in this spirit, which would favorably influence the international climate, from the Soviet-U.S. meeting at the highest level, currently taking place in Moscow. The ratification of the INF Treaty by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Senate was welcomed.

Erich Honecker noted that the GDR was exerting all its strength and authority for the implementation of the peace program of the states of the socialist community. The International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones scheduled for June this year in Berlin will encourage all forces of reason and realism in their efforts for concrete steps for a world free of nuclear weapons.

Constantin Dascalescu explained in this connection the activities of the Socialist Republic of Romania to free the Balkans from nuclear and chemical weapons.

The chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Willi Stoph, took part in the talks.

Romanian Reportage

AU3105195988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1902 GMT 31 May 88

[Text] Berlin, AGERPRES, 31/5/1988—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the CC of the SUPG [Socialist Unity Party of Germany—SED], chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, received Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, prime minister of Romania.

On behalf of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, Erich Honecker was conveyed a warm comradely salute and the best wishes of good health and full success in his activity at head of the party and state, and the people of the German Democratic Republic wishes of prosperity and peace.

Erich Honecker warmly thanked for the message and requested that Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed a cordial friendly salute and wishes of good health and happiness, of ever greater successes in his tireless activity for the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society.

During the interview, which passed in an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality, of mutual esteem and understanding, great appreciation was expressed for the deciding role of the meetings and talks between Nicolae Ceausescu and Erich Honecker, of the decisions and understandings reached on those occasions in the continuous development of the links of friendship and collaboration between the two fraternal parties and countries.

Constantin Dascalescu underscored the special interest President Nicolae Ceausescu shows in the continuation of summit dialogue, which has always had further impact on the ever more powerful growth of the links of friendship, collaboration and militant solidarity between the parties and peoples of the two countries.

Further broad possibilities were shown to exist for the expansion of cooperation between Romania and the German Democratic Republic, more particularly, in the economic area, in cooperation in and specialization of production, as well as in the technical and scientific fields. In that respect, the special importance was underscored of the special working programme for the further expansion of economic, technical and scientific collaboration, of cooperation in and specialization of production for the period spanning 1988-1995 for the capitalization of the respective possibilities. In that context, the two sides' wish was expressed to make every effort for the exemplary fulfilment of the provisions under that special working programme.

During the interview, information was shared on the course of activities in the two friendly countries and opinions were exchanged on a number of most topical issues of the international life.

Talks With Stoph

AU3005202788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 30 May 88

[Text] Berlin, AGERPRES, 30/05/1988—On 30 May, in the afternoon, talks started in Berlin between Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, prime minister of Romania and Willi Stoph, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the SUPG, chairman of the Council of Ministers of GDR.

The two prime ministers underscored the special importance of the interviews and talks between President Nicolae Ceausescu and Chairman Erich Honecker, of the decisions and understandings made on those occasions which, every time, have given fresh impetus to the deepening of the mutually-advantageous collaboration, in keeping with the fundamental interests of the two peoples, of the cause of progress, socialism and peace in the world. Expressing satisfaction at the results attained in the implementation of the decisions made during last October's summit meeting, the sides pointed out the belief that the current talks between the two prime ministers would ensure, in the spirit of the understandings established, new measures to give an impetus to the amplification of the bilateral collaboration.

The sides worked out and agreed upon a special working programme for further deepening the economic, technological and scientific collaboration, the specialization and cooperation in production between Romania and GDR over the 1988-1995 interval.

Setting forth the special importance of coordinating the national economic plans of Romania and GDR, the prime ministers underscored the need for the planning

bodies in the two countries to work, in the framework of these works, for expanding the bilateral economic relations, in the spirit of the long-term programme on the development of the economic, technological and scientific collaboration until the year 2000, signed at summit level, and of the special working programme to be signed at the conclusion of the talks.

It was considered that to further promoting economic relations, specialization of and cooperation in production a most important contribution should be made by technical and scientific collaboration. In that respect, it was proposed that a draft plan for cooperation in science and technology over 1991-1995 should be worked out until the end of the year.

During the working dialogue emphasis was placed on the progress made in the expansion of collaboration in culture, tourism, the press and radio-television, as well as in other areas which contribute to better mutual knowledge, to rapprochement between the two peoples.

The talks continue.

Premier Willi Stoph offered an official dinner in honour of his counterpart, Constantin Dascalescu.

The two prime ministers proposed toasts to the health of the leaders of the two fraternal parties and countries, to the continuous development of friendship and collaboration between Romania and the German Democratic Republic.

Economic Accord Signed

LD3105191588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1617 GMT 31 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 31 May (ADN)—Willi Stoph and Constantin Dascalescu, the prime ministers of the GDR and Romania, this afternoon signed an economic agreement.

Both politicians stressed the importance of the "Joint Work Tasks for Deepening of Specialization and Cooperation and of Scientific-Technical Cooperation for the Period to 1995" for the economies of their countries. Special attention was paid to the intention included in this document to cooperate in key branches and key technologies. The document will contribute to the realization of the commitments agreed to by Erich Honecker and Nicolae Ceausescu, the heads of party and state of both countries, in October 1987. After the successful conclusion of the official talks, a joint press communique on their results was agreed upon.

Romanians Report Signing

AU3105184988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1824 GMT 31 May 88

[Text] Berlin, AGERPRES, 05/31/1988—On 31 May, ended the talks conducted by Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, prime minister of Romania, and Willi Stoph, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the SUPG [Socialist Unity Party of Germany—SED], chairman of the Council of Ministers of GDR, in Berlin.

At the conclusion of the talks, the two heads of government signed the special working programme on further deepening the economic, technological and scientific collaboration, the cooperation and specialization in production between Romania and GDR over the 1988-1995 interval.

The Romanian prime minister and the officials accompanying him visited the Narva combine in Berlin, which specializes in equipment for the electronics industry and lighting.

In talks conducted with leading cadres and specialists, Constantin Dascalescu pointed out the rich experience gained by the Romanian specialists in these top industrial fields and set forth the prospects of widening and diversifying, for mutual benefit, the cooperation in production between the units under the Narva combine and similar units in Romania.

Ends Visit 31 May

LD3106185500 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1518 GMT 31 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 31 May (ADN)—The prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Constantin Dascalescu, ended his 2-day visit to the GDR this afternoon and left for home. He and the members of his entourage were given a cordial send-off at Berlin's Schoenefeld Airport by Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

Romanian Military Chief Leads Delegation Visit

Meets Honecker, Kessler

AU2705184788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1750 GMT 27 May 88

[Text] Berlin AGERPRES 27/5/1988—The general secretary of the CC of the SUPG [Socialist Unity Party of Germany—SED], chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, Erich Honecker, received General-Colonel Vasile Milea, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of national defence of the Socialist Republic of Romania, who headed a military delegation now on a visit to the German Democratic Republic.

During the talk held on the occasion, emphasis was placed on the fact that the friendly and cooperative relations between the RCP and the SUPG, between Romania and the GDR know a continuous development, in keeping with the accords and understandings

covenanted during the summit meetings and talks. The mutual wish was expressed to work for the deepening and diversification of these good ties, in the interests of both countries and peoples.

On the occasion Erich Honecker was conveyed, on behalf of the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, a warm comradely salute and wishes of health and personal happiness, of new successes in his activity, and the people of the German Democratic Republic wishes of important achievements in building socialist society.

Thanking, Erich Honecker conveyed Nicolae Ceausescu a cordial friendly salute, wishes of health and success in his activity as party and state leader and the Romanian people new and great achievements in building multilaterally developed socialist society.

Talks were also held in Berlin between General-Colonel Vasile Milea, minister of national defence of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Army General Heinz Kessler, minister of national defence of the GDR.

Tours Air Base

AU3005102588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 May 88 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A military delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania, which is currently in the GDR, visited Air Force and Air Defense Command units on Wednesday [25 May]. It was cordially welcomed at the Gebhard Leberecht von Bluecher Air Wing by Colonel General Wolfgang Reinhold, deputy defense minister and chief of the Air Force and Air Defense Command. Commander Lieutenant General Juergen Roske briefed the brothers-in-arms on the results of the competitions. During demonstrations by the combat group and training pilots, members of the engineering and rear defense staff showed their skills. Afterward, friendly meetings with antiaircraft missile soldiers of the Erich Weinert Unit took place.

In the afternoon, in the presence of Vice Admiral Theodor Hoffmann, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the People's Navy Command, the guests learned about the efforts of seamen, petty officers, warrant officers, and officers in political and combat training. On board the small missile ship "Fritz Globig" and the "Boerde" residential ship, the army members from the friendly country acquainted themselves with service and living conditions.

Speaks at War College

AU3105161588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 May 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The military delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania and members of the Wilhelm Pieck Military College attended a comradeship-in-arms meeting on Thursday [26 May]. The participants gave a warm welcome to Colonel General Vasile Milea, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and minister of national defense, and Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR minister of national defense. The welcome was extended to Lieutenant General Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister and secretary of the Higher Political Council of the Army of the Socialist Republic of Romania, as well as to the other members of the delegation. Colonel General Horst Bruenner, deputy defense minister and chief of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army, was also present. The anthems of the GDR and the Socialist Republic of Romania were played.

In his address, Army General Heinz Kessler assessed the visit of the Romanian brothers-in-arms as another proof of the long-standing friendship that links the two peoples, states, and armies. Together with the Soviet Union, the other socialist states, and all peace-loving forces, the GDR and the Socialist Republic of Romania, through their struggle for disarmament, detente, security, and cooperation, are contributing to solving the great problems of mankind. The National People's Army will continue to do everything possible to breath life into relations and comradeship-in-arms with the Armed Forces of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the GDR defense minister pointed out.

Subsequently, Colonel General Vasile Milea expressed thanks for the cordial reception. "On the solid basis of friendship between our peoples and parties, the Army of the Socialist Republic of Romania steadily develops its relations with the GDR National People's Army." Mutual visits by military delegations as well as the exchange of experiences in various spheres serve this end in a remarkable manner, Colonel General Milea stated.

In the morning, the Romanian military delegation, accompanied by Colonel General Horst Stechbarth, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Ground Forces Command of the National People's Army, visited a training center of the Ground Forces Command.

Bulgaria's Atanasov Honors Stoph at Dinner

AU2705142188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 May 88 p 3

[Toast by Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, at a dinner given in his honor by Will Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, in East Berlin on 25 May: "Bilateral Relations Demonstrate Great Dynamism"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Stoph, dear comrades and friends from the GDR:

Permit me, on behalf of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on behalf of the comrades accompanying me, and on my own behalf, to thank the

GDR Council of Ministers and you personally, Comrade Stoph, for the invitation to visit your country and for the sincere hospitality and respect paid to us.

We like to come to the GDR, because here we are among old and good friends. In this friendly atmosphere we will discuss and decide new measures and stipulations on the further development of the mutually advantageous cooperation between our states.

Loyal to the Legacy of Georgi Dimitrov and Ernst Thaelmann [subhead]

The current meeting is a new expression of our friendly relations, which look back on a rich history and tradition. The joint path of our parties and peoples is long and glorious—from the revolutionary class solidarity of the Bulgarian and German workers class in the years of the heroic struggle against fascism, in the difficult stage of building the foundations of socialism, to the current time full of responsibilities in which we live, the stage of further perfecting and restructuring socialist society, of dynamic, technological and social changes, and of the struggle for peace and disarmament.

A firm foundation for our solidarity and our harmonious actions is formed by the common goals we are striving for, the fraternal friendship, and the unshakable alliance of our two countries with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community. We are linked by loyalty to the communist ideals of, and by socialist internationalism to the legacy of, the great sons of our two peoples, Georgi Dimitrov and Ernst Thaelmann.

Over the past years the relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the GDR have developed with great dynamism on the basis of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance signed in 1977.

The meetings and talks of the leading representatives of our parties and states, Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Erich Honecker, are a basic factor of stability and steady development. Last September they signed the program on expanding and deepening through the year 2000 economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the GDR, which contains the main directions and focal tasks of our joint work and provides for the conditions to raise our fraternal relations to an even higher level. Therefore it is logical that now our talks are focusing on the practical solution of the tasks agreed on in the joint program.

There are good prospects in the area of bilateral economic relations, which have experienced a positive development over the past years. Now we have the opportunity to considerably increase the speed of trade and to introduce more variety into its structure. Industrial cooperation and the further deepening of specialization offer new possibilities for this. The current talks will, without doubt, lead to the acceleration and qualitative enrichment of these processes.

Our cooperation in the intellectual-cultural area is rich in interesting initiatives. This February the Cultural Days of the GDR took place in our country with high artistic standards and great success. The Bulgarian cultural public is looking forward with interest to the Berlin Days in Sofia in June, and in September the Days of Bulgarian Culture will take place in your capital city. This is only a part of the varied processes of intellectual-cultural cooperation between our peoples, which we appreciate and develop further.

Esteemed Comrade Stoph, the Bulgarian Communists and the Bulgarian people observe with great satisfaction the GDR's remarkable successes in the intensification of the national economy and the development of science and technology. We are sincerely pleased about the achievements accomplished by your people in building socialism and welcome the successes reached in implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress. We highly appreciate the dynamic and peaceful foreign policy pursued by the GDR in the international arena.

The BCP and the working people of our country live in an atmosphere of political upswing and industrious work to implement the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and of the national conference held this January. Our struggle is aimed at the comprehensive restructuring of all areas of social life. In this respect, particular importance is accorded to technological changes in production, structural changes in the economy, and to perfecting management in the national economy. The results achieved to date prove that we are following the correct path and convince us of the enormous possibilities provided by our social system.

We welcome the innovations in the Soviet Union and the new way of political thinking, which offers remarkable opportunities to strengthen the positions of socialism on the national and international scale.

Bulgaria Advocates More Trust in the Balkans [subhead]

It is clear to us that the lofty goals we are striving for can be reached only under the conditions of lasting peace. In international relations our efforts are therefore aimed at guaranteeing maximum security and saving mankind from the danger of a nuclear disaster.

The main principle of our international work and our foreign policy is consolidating the unity and cohesion of the countries of the socialist community and steadily increasing the effectiveness of their joint efforts for security and cooperation in Europe and in the world.

We accord utmost importance to the progressive forms of economic cooperation between the fraternal countries—to direct relations and joint ventures, broad contacts at various levels, joint development of scientific

and construction collectives, and the perfecting of foreign exchange and financial relations. We establish conditions to enrich the forms of meetings and contacts between the people of our countries.

You know about the important international projects in which the People's Republic of Bulgaria has actively participated over the past months. At the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries in Belgrade, our country took the initiative and accepted great political responsibility and demonstrated its willingness to make its contribution to strengthening trust and cooperation. This is in line with our unshakable and constructive policy in the Balkans. The People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue its work to make the Balkan peninsula a nuclear- and chemical-weapons-free zone, to further improve the political climate in our region, and to expand cooperation among the Balkan countries.

We Appreciate the GDR's Activities and Initiatives [subhead]

We note that the dynamism, variety, and contradictions of the processes in international political events are characterized by positive tendencies to change one's way of thinking, to adjust, and to recognize the new realities, as well as to find a new way of political thinking, which are all required by our time. The main factor of this positive process is, without any doubt, the dialogue between the USSR and the United States. The initiatives and foreign policy activities of all socialist fraternal countries are contributing to this.

In this spirit, we highly appreciate the peaceful actions of the GDR, which are aimed at consolidating peace and security in Europe. We welcome the proposal, made together with the CSSR, to establish a nuclear-free corridor and a chemical-weapons-free zone in central Europe. We are of the opinion that the GDR's initiative to hold an international conference on the problems of nuclear-free zones under the aegis of Comrade Erich Honecker will give new stimuli to the search for a practical approach to reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe and to the struggle to create a nuclear-free world.

The first step toward creating such a world was made with the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which was signed in Washington in December 1987. The forthcoming talks of Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Moscow open up important opportunities to achieve new and even more important successes in this field.

Permit me, Comrade Stoph, to express my conviction that our talks will provide new, lasting stimuli to the further development of cooperation between our countries and people.

I raise my glass and drink to:

—The overall progress of the GDR and the health of its working people;

—The indestructible friendship with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community;

—The victory of peace and socialism;

—The health of the leading representatives of our parties and states, Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Erich Honecker;

—Your health, esteemed Comrade Stoph;

—The health of all those present here.

Your health!

Stoph Toasts Atanasov

AU2705144188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 May 88 p 3

[Toast by Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, at dinner given in honor of his Bulgarian counterpart, Georgi Atanasov, in Berlin on 25 May: "Berlin Meeting Will Promote Disarmament Process"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Atanasov, dear Bulgarian comrades and friends:

I would like to welcome you, very warmly, dear Comrade Atanasov and the Bulgarian comrades accompanying you, once more, to the GDR. It is a great pleasure for us that you accepted the invitation to pay an official friendship visit to our country.

The regular meetings between the chairmen of the our two countries' Councils of Ministers have become a good tradition. Practice proves that they make a sizable contribution to developing and strengthening bilateral relations, particularly concerning economic cooperation. I am certain that this will also be the case during this meeting.

Close Cooperation Between SED and BCP is the Foundation [subhead]

Dear Comrades and friends:

There is an old saying that "you reap what you sow." Dear Bulgarian comrades, I think that you will agree with me if I extend this to the whole scale of our cooperation: We have sown well in the past and therefore we are in a position to bring in increasingly good harvests.

Our relations have developed continuously and dynamically over the past years and have reached a high level. This was clearly demonstrated by the meetings between

Comrade Erich Honecker and Comrade Todor Zhivkov in September last year. The agreements reached on this occasion constitute the guidelines for further expanding cooperation in all spheres.

Dear Comrade Atanasov, in our view our talks represent another significant step ahead to realizing what was discussed and decided in Sofia in 1987.

Today we can state without exaggeration that our relations have deepened in a comprehensive manner. Close cooperation between the SED and the BCP, as well as the various links between administrative organs of the state and the economy, between social organizations, scientific and cultural institutions, as well as the numerous contacts between bezirke, combines, work collectives, and citizens of our countries, are the basis for this. Here we act according to the motto that our cooperation, which is characterized by the principles of socialism, is the richer in results the more long-term and far-sighted its planning. This approach is expressed in the "Program for the Expansion and Deepening of Scientific-Technological Cooperation Between the GDR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria Through the Year 2000."

As we stated during today's talks, its implementation is being vigorously tackled.

The "Days of GDR Culture," which were held in the People's Republic of Bulgaria in February this year, are an impressive expression of our comprehensive relations. I am convinced that the "Days of Bulgarian Culture" to be held in the GDR in September will also contribute to strengthening friendship and mutual understanding between our peoples.

Dear Bulgarian comrades and friends:

We know that this very day plays a special role in your country's history: 69 years ago the First BCP Congress opened in Sofia. The tasks for the party's struggle adopted by the statement of this party congress have been fulfilled in Bulgaria. Under the leadership of the BCP the People's Republic of Bulgaria is advancing successfully on the path of socialist construction. We followed the BCP national conference with great interest and sympathy. We are impressed by the great and challenging tasks that you have set for yourselves; we wish you much success in implementing them.

In the GDR the working people have made good progress in achieving the goals decided on by the 11th SED Congress. Supported by continuous economic growth, the party and government are consistently continuing the course of the unity of social and economic policy. In this it proved successful that for years the path of comprehensive intensification of production has been followed and the emphasis is on the accelerated application of key technologies.

We will continue to consider the construction of socialism as a continuous process of searching for the most efficient ways of solving tasks and problems posed by life in accordance with national and international conditions.

More Security Can Be Achieved Through Fewer Weapons [subhead]

Dear comrades and friends:

In international relations there have been favorable changes in the past few months. After years of increasing confrontation, a constantly growing arms race, and rising tensions, a change for the better is becoming discernible. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which is full of initiative, is particularly important in this respect. Together with the other states of the socialist community, the GDR stands firmly at the side of the USSR and is making its own particular contribution to a secure world peace.

The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed by the Soviet Union and the United States marks a first step on the road to a nuclear-free world. It proves that when reason and realism prevail, more security can be achieved with fewer weapons. In our opinion, it is now a matter of following the start of nuclear disarmament with further concrete measures. In this respect we, like the whole of the world public, place great hopes in the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, to take place in a few days' time.

GDR Makes Contribution to Joint Peace Program [subhead]

We hope for and expect further steps toward real disarmament and thus toward an improvement of the international situation. But we do not overlook the fact that there are still forces that disapprove of the whole development. This only confirms us in consistently and vigorously pursuing our policy of disarmament and peace.

It fills all of us with satisfaction that the peace program which was jointly drafted by the the Warsaw Pact states is beginning to bear fruit. The GDR is making its contribution to implementing this program on a step-by-step basis. The policy of coordinated and concerted action with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, the political dialogue, and cooperation with all forces of reason and realism, as well as our country's initiatives aimed at reducing and eliminating all weapons, testify to this.

Creation of Nuclear-Free Zones Gains Increasing Significance [subhead]

Increasing significance for the support of the process of disarmament is achieved by such activities as the joint proposals of the GDR and the CSSR for the creation of nuclear-free zones or the Bulgarian-Romanian initiative for the creation of a nuclear-free and chemical-weapon-free zone in the Balkans.

The international meeting to be held in Berlin in June this year will further stimulate the realization of these proposals.

Dear comrades and friends:

We will continue to consider the purposeful and intensive activities of our country's working people under the leadership of the SED and the BCP, as well as our joint efforts to further extend cooperation between our fraternal states, as a solid basis for further increasing socialism's attractiveness in the world, thus making peace more secure.

I ask you, dear comrades, to raise your glasses and drink with me to:

—The further strengthening of fraternal relations of friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the GDR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria;

—The well-being of the general secretaries of our parties, Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Erich Honecker;

—Your health, dear Comrade Georgi Atanasov;

—The well-being of all comrades and friends who are present!

Cooperation Pact Signed

LD2705150888 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1300 GMT 27 May 88

[Text] The GDR and Bulgaria have agreed to deepen cooperation in key technologies. A protocol signed today on the talks between Prime Ministers Willi Stoph and Georgi Atanasov refers, among other things, to the spheres of electronics, comprehensive automation, biotechnologies, energetics, and engineering.

Bulgaria Reports Signing

AU2705182788 Sofia BTA in English 1800 GMT 27 May 88

[Text] Berlin, May 27 (BTA corr)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, completed his 3-day official visit of friendship to the GDR. The two sides unanimously assessed the results of this visit as a fresh impetus to the getting closer of the two fraternal states and peoples and to promoting their cooperation to a qualitatively new stage.

Mr Georgi Atanasov and Mr Willi Stoph signed a protocol on the results of their talks. It stresses that the Programme for the Development of Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation Between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Democratic Republic of Germany Till the Year 2000 signed by Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Erich Honecker contributes to raising the efficiency of social production and to the perfection of scientific and technological cooperation. Tasks are being set related to the further implementation of the long-term programme, especially in the field of strategic technologies. A joint report of the Bilateral Commission for Economic and Scientific and Technological Cooperation was approved. A high assessment was given to the work of the bilateral commission, of the central planning bodies, associations and economic organizations on the Bulgarian side and of the ministries and combined works on the GDR side in the preparation of adoption of activities in implementation of the long-term programme. The protocol also dwells on issues of the coordination of the national economic plans and of the implementation of the resolutions ensuing from the 43rd (extraordinary) session of CMEA. It points out that the deepening bilateral cooperation in science, technology and production is creating preconditions for a steady and dynamic development of counter trade.

In the afternoon Prime Minister Georgi Atanasov and the officials accompanying him departed for Bulgaria.

Ends Visit 27 May

LD2705211388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1504 GMT 27 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 27 May (ADN)—At noon today, Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, ended his 3-day official friendship visit to the GDR. He was cordially seen off at Berlin's Schoenefeld Airport by Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

At the end of their official talks the same day, the two politicians signed a protocol on their consultations. It describes the present situation in realizing the long-term program of cooperation until the year 2000, and stipulates further tasks, in particular in the sphere of key technologies. This affects measures for deepening cooperation in the spheres of electronics, comprehensive production automation, development of new materials, biotechnology, the chemical industry, energetics, and engineering.

This morning, Prime Minister Atanasov laid a wreath at the memorial to the victims of fascism and militarism and then had a talk with Berlin Mayor Erhard Krack.

The two sides adopted a joint statement.

Berecz Address at MSZMP Conference Published

AU2705110788 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 May 88 p 2

[Unattributed report on speech delivered by Janos Berecz, member of the MSZMP Politburo, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, and chairman of the Drafting Committee: "Report by Janos Berecz on the work of the Drafting Committee—Reorganization Is Based on the Leading Role of the Party," at the MSZMP Conference in Budapest on 22 May]

[Text] Following the concluding speech by MSZMP General Secretary Janos Kadar, Csaba Hamori, chairman of the meeting, announced that the Drafting Committee had summarized the proposals to revise the Draft Policy Statement and, after taking them into consideration, reviewed this document.

At this point, the reviewed version of the Draft Policy Statement was distributed to every delegate. A 30-minute intermission began, in order to enable the participants to study the text again.

After the intermission, Janos Berecz, chairman of the Drafting Committee, gave the party conference a report on the work of the committee. He said that the committee, in accomplishing its task, had concluded its work. It took into consideration Janos Kadar's introductory speech, the speeches made by 49 delegates and 1 invited guest, and the written opinions and observations of 226 delegates.

Berecz said that experience from the dialogues held with the party members, the ideological theses, and the exchanges of opinion concerning the leading role of the party and the further development of the system of political institutions had also been included in the Draft Policy Statement submitted to the delegates. One can justifiably conclude that this document of the party conference relies on adequate bases. The renewing party alone is this basis.

Berecz said the following: "In the course of the debates held in recent months, the MSZMP has undergone a fundamental change. The party members are changing from people who expect answers from above, occasionally lose their confidence, who at times also lose perspective, from people who are in practice committed to or accept executive roles, to party members who seek answers and take critical standpoints, people who, on the basis of this, are able to formulate forward-looking requirements for action and who demand active participation in the shaping of policy. This is saliently demonstrated by the fact that the delegates have requested the floor, or have submitted their written proposals on the basis of a creative need for such a quest. The fact that in most cases they formulated their opinions concerning the Draft Policy Statement in the framework of comprehensive ideas demonstrates their commitment to renew policy. We have received some 600 observations and proposals. These have been enriched by mailed proposals from basic organizations, collectives, and individual people. The group of delegates from Baranya County has submitted jointly developed proposals to the Drafting Committee.

"We were able to integrate ideas which were put forward in many contributions that presented detailed opinions on various subject areas—but which did not in fact contain concrete proposals—into the Draft Policy Statement. Thus, it will also be possible to make use of them in further work.

"The committee had to weigh and formulate in words many very valuable proposals and observations, or decide that they should be treated in another form. The Drafting Committee determined that, in the present situation, the party conference should concentrate on several vital social, economic, and political issues, and on developing the conditions necessary for renewal. To accomplish this, it will be necessary to renew the party and the political system and to further advance the process of economic reform consistently.

"This is why we are proposing that the delegates accept the fact that the draft focuses on these matters, and formulates first of all the coming tasks of the party. The state and public organizations can also develop their independent programs in relation to these tasks. Several people have proposed that our conference should adopt a resolution to prepare a new party program by the 14th MSZMP Congress.

"We think that it will not be expedient to tie the hands of the next party congress here and to determine its tasks in advance. It is, however, necessary to carry out the necessary analyses for the preparation of the party program. We propose to lay this down in the policy statement.

"In the course of the debate, it has become clear that a modern interpretation of the leading role of the party and the renewal of its internal relations and functioning are key issues in the successful accomplishment of change, reform, and renewal. Several people have made proposals concerning organizational regulations. Most of these proposals should be considered in the course of future analyses. I am asking for the approval of the conference to submit these proposals to the Central Committee that will be elected, because one of its tasks will be to commission a working committee to work out its proposals concerning the new organizational regulations.

"The large majority of the speakers who participated in the debate as well as the written contributions urged and gave support to a comprehensive reform of the system of political institutions. On the basis of the experiences of the debate, the Drafting Committee considers it necessary to stipulate the main directions for political reform in a more decisive manner. The issue should be to

comprehensively renew and reform the internal structure and functioning of the political system, rather than simply to modernize the present political mechanism. The basic meaning of renewal is to construct a viable system of institutions for socialist pluralism."

"Within the framework of a one-party system—a framework which is stipulated by the new draft—and in the present stage of our development, socialist pluralism is both the necessary condition to assert the power of the people and the instrument to exercise it.

"Power of the people means that, in the present stage of our development, it is equally possible to assert divergent political interests which grow on the soil of socialism by using compromises in order to integrate political interests. The intention to assert the power of the people presumes that there is a pluralism of political interests in our system of political institutions. It is not possible to truthfully assert the popular character of power when there are no opportunities to express political interests and no procedures of coordination which rely on partnership relations within society.

"People demanding the clearer formulation of the leading role of the working class correctly say that increasing the popular character of power should not weaken the assertion of the interests of the working class. However, we should at the same time point out that the economic, ownership, and interest relations of socialism in Hungary are also more complex and multifaceted than reflected by the system of political institutions which developed and functioned in the recent decades.

"Structural reorganization of our political establishment has now become a task that cannot be delayed. The mechanism which implements political power has to be modified by means of reforms. Reorganization should advance toward building a political system which relies on the leading role of the party, on a division of labor stipulated by the law, and on a political system where decisions are made in several centers. The revised policy statement lays down only the main directions for the necessary reorganization in the system of political institutions.

"Renewing the system of political institutions can only be the result of the organic development of Hungarian society. We must not repeat past mistakes and should not prepare theoretical patterns for reality in advance.

"The premier set down in principle how the government can function independently within the scope of the main political guideline formulated by the party. We still have to work this out in practice. Developing and strengthening the democratic institutions of the socialist political system also requires that legal regulations should be laid down on a comprehensive and large scale. At times of renewing the practice of socialist construction, we should preserve all the elements that have withstood the test of time. An efficient and democratic practice of building society, a practice which satisfies the needs of society more consistently than before, can firmly rely on the real and constantly effective basic elements that are inherent in socialism. However, the tasks of further advancement can only be outlined on the basis of both the possibilities of and requirements for exceeding the prevailing socialism, and the steps we have made toward progress. These requirements are now forcing us to delay no longer in radically renewing the historically developed concept of socialism. We are interested in building a socialist society which is performance-oriented, effective, democratic, and viable, and which sets to the fore human activities that create things of value in culture, the economy, and everyday life alike.

"In the course of approaching and interpreting new phenomena, several different alternative answers can emerge. This goes together with our quest to find our way.

"Our party conference also proves that the difficulties inherent in our quest cannot deter us from our intention to renew the practice of building society, and that the main direction of the reforms can only be formulated in debates.

"Several contributions have stressed the need to renew public thinking, ideology, and the processes under way in the public mind. It is not only the observations made in the course of the debate, but also the radically different social, political, and economic situation which encourage us to reconsider the role of political ideology. We are aware that ideology cannot undertake to set out in detail the social conditions and processes we want to accomplish in the future, or to explain all the phenomena in political life and in the life of society. However, it can and should help us accomplish a historical dimension in our endeavors toward renewal. In harmony with the Draft Policy Statement, therefore, the task of ideology is to interpret the conditions and functional processes of socialist society and to explore the nature of contradictions inherent in development, and critically evaluate them; ideology should also have an idea of how to eliminate them. The elimination of these contradictions is always the task of the political leadership.

"Political ideology can only have an incentive effect on processes in society and on political action if it adjusts to the movement's real values. Political ideology will be able to play its role of guiding society and political decisionmaking when it lays down the framework for the selection of the road, without prescribing every step along the course of development.

"The Drafting Committee agrees with KISZ First Secretary Csaba Hamori in that the issues concerning the situation of young people are not represented in the Draft Policy Statement in proportion with their real political weight. It is necessary to renew our social and youth policy practices in order to facilitate the solution of part of the present tensions inherent in the situation of

young people. The change to be brought about in the efficiency of the economy will establish the basic elements required for the development of reform processes for the benefit of the young people."

"Nevertheless, we propose that we should not measure the extent of our preoccupation with the young people's situation by the extent to which this is dealt with in the document. We should now formulate the bases of a political program which will also provide an attractive future for the young people. In our opinion, the policy statement contains the main elements of this program.

"The contributors were justified in noting the more difficult situation prevailing in areas such as scientific research, education, and health affairs. We support the conclusions of the Draft Policy Statement, and propose that the concrete extent, methods, and techniques of the urgent development in these areas should be laid down within the framework of a budget reform, and that representatives of the areas concerned should also be involved in these negotiations.

"Several contributors to the debate dealt with economic difficulties, but did not question the conclusions of the Policy Statement. In harmony with the document, the debate confirmed that our most important task is to implement the MSZMP Central Committee work program for development which was adopted on 2 July 1987, and the Council of Ministers' work program for stabilization, which was adopted by the National Assembly."

The chairman of the Drafting Committee assured the conference that the suggestions that had not been integrated into the Policy Statement will not get lost, either. He said that the issues in these suggestions will be dealt with according to their subject matter at a later time, and proposed that the delegates should commission the Central Committee which will be elected to consider ways to integrate the summarized group of suggestions into its working program, and to responsibly determine which suggestions can be adopted under the prevailing circumstances and which tasks can be accepted.

Janos Berecz then said the following: "The main principles and directions of our political line transpire from the similarities discernible in the debates and the various opinions, from the endeavors which enforce renewal, the Draft Policy Statement, and the document which has been elevated to the rank of a resolution. These main principles and directions both aim at and contain the requirement for the necessary change, reform, and renewal, that is, the requirement that we should—even radically—accelerate the reform processes in all areas of the life of society where this is necessary. We should decisively continue to renew the functioning and the ideology of our system of economic and political institutions in a coordinated manner, and contribute to the development of creative forces in society. We should do all this in order to contribute to continuing the efficient building of socialism in Hungary. I think that I can state that we agree on this, we are united in our commitment to this cause, and our position concerning strategic issues is uniform. At the same time, this unity is qualitatively new, one which is being repeatedly renewed and strengthened in the course of debates. However, we should recognize that, for the time being, this unity has only established the starting point from which we can proceed along the road that has just been set out. But we will have to be able to satisfy the requirement that Comrade Janos Kadar formulated in his speech: 'What is needed is unity in the party, determination in politics, collaboration within the country, and steadfastness at work.' Let us accept this thought as the essential wisdom of responsible political life. I am convinced that I am expressing the thoughts and feelings of all of us, when I say that Comrade Kadar's experiences will continue to be essential for our party in the future, too.

"We have no other choice but to continue along the road we ourselves chose, and—by means of a series of actions—bring about both improvement in the state of our affairs and the advancement of our society and citizens toward their goal, that is, toward the prosperity of the country. This is the touchstone of our unity and its guarantee."

Nemeth Address at MSZMP Conference Published

AU3005131388 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 May 88 p 4

[Speech by MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Miklos Nemeth at the MSZMP National Conference on 21 May: "The Principle of Performance Must Be Implemented"]

[Text] The party members and the society expressed their support for the Central Committee program of development of July 1987 and the government work program of stabilization based on the Central Committee program. During the almost 1 and 1/2 years since then, impatience has increased, together with understanding and support. Nobody should have the slightest doubt that the party and government leaders are convinced that there is a need for radical changes in the economy. We have started to work out the conditions necessary for this change. Our conclusions are clear: We cannot expect immediate change that leads to simultaneous improvement in all aspects of our life, nor can we promise anything like that in a responsible way.

The structural problems and distortions of balance that have been recurring in the Hungarian economy for years are caused by the heritage of the past as well as by the mistakes we have committed. The results of all this are an inefficient use of production factors, the general backward state of our infrastructure, the lack of market development, and the lack of a capital market or of competition that encourages greater performance. We

must also take into consideration the structural and organizational weaknesses of our foreign economic ability that arise from isolation and from the way of political and economic thinking that had developed previously.

We must also face the problems arising from social and human factors—the unfavorable developments in the demographic processes, the deterioration of our population's health, the disturbances in social adjustment, a lax attitude toward work, and the discrepancies in work style. Without a doubt, we need more money to solve these problems and eliminate the existing tensions. We can gain a lot if we halt the waste in our economic activity, organize our work better, and if we regroup our resources. However broader financial resources derive primarily from more courageous, more free, and primarily rational ventures, rather than from savings.

All of us have been concerned for a long time that we are spending considerable amounts of money on keeping inefficient and loss-making activities and enterprises in business. Obviously, we will not be able to continue this practice in the future, but I can say with conviction that, in the Hungarian people's economy, losses of income result not only from inefficient enterprises, but also from the fact that we constantly miss opportunities to make greater profits and achieve greater income. Therefore, we must do away with the concept and practice that honors mediocrity and carry-overs both from a financial and political point of view.

We also cannot continue the practice that artificially separates the capitalist, socialist, and the domestic markets. This is one of the reasons that the forint is not convertible even domestically. The role played by money in a modern economy has been replaced in our case by the various systems of administrative authorization and distribution and by preferences and subsidies that cannot be justified by social and economic processes. Under such circumstances, our enterprises lose the most important thing—real contact with the market. In practice this means that the conditions for acquiring funds are lax. We try to restore the ensuing balance deficit by extremely limiting the use of incomes. We must change this situation as soon as possible. To implement enterprise independence and attain acceptable stability in regulations, economic conditions should be, if possible, regulated by laws.

We must employ every possible means to help raise our competitiveness to an international level and strengthen our orientation toward export. This makes it imperative for cooperation among CEMA member states to be placed on a new basis. At the same time, this also requires the creation of institutional forms of contact with organizations of other integrated economic systems, primarily with the EEC. There will be a long-term requirement for foreign resources in developing the Hungarian economy. In the future we will have to rely much more than in the past on working capital and on purchasing the developed technology connected with it. We must also initiate solutions within the framework of the new law on associations which would enable us to transform part of our existing debts into an entrepreneurial interest for our foreign partner.

There are great resources and organizational power inherent in developing conditions of socialist ownership, increasing entrepreneurial forms, strengthening interest in ownership, and in improving the mobility of social capital. Therefore, we support the passage of a modern law on associations that will meet the requirements of our age—a law that will create better conditions than previously for the functioning of various forms of socialist property, private property, and foreign property. We need large-scale competitive enterprises supported by strong capital as well as various small-scale and medium-size ventures.

The road we must advance on is one of the tough implementation of the principle of performance, rather than a policy of consumption and income limitations. We must not only stress the possibility of income according to performance, but also demand everyone to carry out proper work for this increased income.

The adjustment of corporations and of the stock exchange in the functioning of socialist ownership conditions, the achieving of tolerable inflation, and the extent of state debts are issues that can be solved. All these affect various short- and long-term social problems and different individual and community interests. They can be solved only on the basis of an open analysis of economic and social advantages and disadvantages.

Only a deep confidence in democratic institutions can promote the general basis of development. This confidence is able to mobilize the masses on the basis of individual interests, and this confidence implements society's control and also contributes to the improvement of party and government activity. We are not sure of everything, but we are sure that we cannot allow uncertainty and the complexity of problems to affect us by creating reluctance and a lack of self-confidence at the start of the implementation of our tasks.

Amid contradictory interests and circumstances, we must find acceptable and optimal solutions for social development as a whole. We must also take into account, however, that there will be not only winners, but losers as well in this process. Under such circumstances, the political leadership has the task, on the one hand, to work out and operate institutional frameworks, create openness, and develop mechanisms that will guarantee that we will not repeat past mistakes, and, on the other, to ensure that, in the reform process itself—to use a comparison—a suitable plan for building the house and a skillful and responsible construction engineer are available.

The reform of our political institutions makes it possible to charge the government with this role of construction engineer in managing our economy, and the parliament should call the government to account for implementation. The party should be responsible for the concept to party members and to society as a whole.

If we take into consideration that together with the reform policy we must also extricate ourselves from a labyrinth of moral disturbances and distortions, we are facing extreme political responsibility in the coming few years. We can achieve a stable value basis for the economy as well as the incentives and need for market operation only from below—from the family and small communities, and through the development of associations that are made up of people who are working for each other. Our policy should support the various forms necessary for this because history has repeatedly proved that one can extricate himself from indifference, envy, exploitation, and work that is humanly humiliating only if work for one another also becomes meaningful for the individual and if a policy that meets the people's sense of justice become everyday practice.

We can only build a socialism of the poor if we do not have development that is accepted internationally and that we can also implement. We want the opposite, we want socialism to renew itself. Establishing a market economy is the way to achieve this. All this requires new concepts, new practice, and suitable cadres. One of the characteristics of our modern age is that leadership has become a profession on all levels and thus requires knowledge, a constructive attitude, and recognized performance. There is, among other things, a need for democracy both within and outside the party precisely to make sure that the leaders who assume positions are professionals—people who meet the requirements of the age and have the suitable personalities and moral integrity.

As we approach the turn of the century, history has again assigned a serious task to our people. Just as at the turn of the previous millennium, we are today again facing the task of quick and firm adjustment and of catching up. We must work to create prospects for our nation and the party must play a decisive role in this activity. Only a determined desire for and practice of renewal can provide guarantees that the MSZMP will successfully fulfill its historical mission of being the leading force in the nation in this difficult period.

Austria's Mock Continues Official Visit

Holds 'Cordial' Talks With Grosz

LD2705131888 Budapest MTI in English
1236 GMT 27 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 27 (MTI)—On Friday Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Austrian Vice-Chancellor Alois Mock, foreign minister and chairman of the Austrian People's Party, who is paying a visit to Hungary at the invitation of Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi.

In cordial atmosphere the sides discussed bilateral relations and international affairs, and agreed that Karoly Grosz, accepting the invitation of Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, would visit Austria this year.

Karoly Grosz spoke about the Policy Statement approved by the party conference, and about the efforts aimed at implementing the government programme of economic and social stabilization. He emphasized that the current international situation is favourable for attaining our direct goals.

Discussing international affairs the sides highly appreciated the changes in Soviet-American relations which had a favourable influence on the situation of the world as a whole. They stressed that the planned Vienna-Budapest world exhibition would be useful from both economic and political aspects and reconfirm that two countries with different social systems can launch even such ambitious common ventures.

Alois Mock provided information on the policy of Austria towards the European Economic Community. He said that the talks on admission would probably become timely in the mid-1990s. The Republic of Austria, he stressed, would hold it a basic condition to guarantee its policy of permanent neutrality and good-neighbourly relations. Admission to the Common Market should not do harm to goodneighbourly relations, including Hungarian-Austrian cooperation, the Austrian foreign minister stressed. He reconfirmed the intention of the Austrian side to further develop relations between the two countries.

The talk were attended by Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs, Franz Schmid, ambassador of the Republic of Austria to Hungary, and Janos Nagy, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to the Republic of Austria.

On Friday Alois Mock met Peter Medgyessy, deputy prime minister.

Meets Church, State Officials

LD2705213288 Budapest MTI in English
1704 GMT 27 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 27 (MTI)—On Friday Alois Mock, Austrian vice-chancellor and minister of foreign affairs, met Primate-Archbishop Laszlo Paskai, president of the Hungarian Catholic Episcopacy.

Subsequently the head of the Austrian diplomacy held talks with Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee of the HSWP and president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the parliament.

Alois Mock also met Jozsef Marjai, deputy prime minister and minister of trade.

Communique on Visit Issued

AU3105142988 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian
30 May 88 pp 1, 2

[MTI: "Communique on Austrian Foreign Minister's Visit—Continuous Dialogue"]

[Text] Austrian Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister Alois Mock paid an official visit to Hungary 26 - 28 May at the invitation of Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs Peter Varkonyi.

The head of the Austrian diplomacy was received by MSZMP General Secretary and Premier Karoly Grosz, and MSZMP Chairman Janos Kadar, member of the Presidential Council. Alois Mock also held talks with MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Matyas Szuros, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly. Alois Mock met with Deputy Premier Jozsef Marjai, minister of trade; Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy; and Education and Culture Minister Bela Kopeczi. Alois Mock visited Archbishop Primate Laszlo Paksai, chairman of the Hungarian Catholic Episcopate, in Esztergom.

During the visit, Finance Minister Peter Villanyi and Alois Mock signed an intergovernmental agreement on promoting and protecting investment projects.

During the talks, Peter Varkonyi and Alois Mock reviewed Hungarian-Austrian relations. They concluded that as a result of mutual efforts, these relations are developing positively in all the areas. There is a continuous political dialogue between the leaders of the two countries, there are regular working meetings between the heads of individual ministries, the technical-scientific and cultural relations are expanding, and tourism between the two countries has increased particularly in the current year. During the talks, both sides stressed the importance of expanding the economic cooperation and paid particular attention to large-scale joint ventures like, the preparations for Budapest-Vienna World Exhibition planned for 1995, and Austria's participation in the construction of the Bos-Nagymaros [Gabcsikovo-Nagymaros] river barrage system.

Exchanging views about topical international issues, Peter Varkonyi and Alois Mock welcomed the acceleration of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue and the subsequent agreements. They expressed hope that President Reagan's upcoming visit to Moscow will lead to further steps, primarily in arms limitation, and will promote peace and international security.

The two foreign ministers stressed the importance of the CSCE follow-up conference in Vienna. They agreed that the conclusion of this conference with a substantial final document as soon as possible can provide further impetus to the Helsinki process.

Alois Mock invited Peter Varkonyi to pay an official visit to Austria; Peter Varkonyi accepted the invitation.

The Austrian foreign minister and his entourage left Budapest on 28 May.

MTI Reports Communique

LD2805211888 Budapest MTI in English
1519 GMT 28 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 28 (MTI)—Vice-Chancellor Alois Mock, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Austria, paid an official visit to Hungary May 26 to 28, on the invitation of Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi.

Alois Mock met Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Janos Kadar, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and member of the Presidential Council. Alois Mock held talks with Matyas Szuros, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee and president of the Foreign Affairs Department of the National Assembly. He met Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai, minister of trade, Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy, and Bela Kopeczi, minister of culture and education. In Esztergom, Alois Mock called on Primate Archbishop Laszlo Paskai, president of the Hungarian Catholic Episcopacy. During the visit, Alois Mock and Hungarian Minister of Finance Miklos Villanyi signed an inter-governmental agreement on the promotion and protection of investments.

Reviewing relations between Hungary and Austria, Peter Varkonyi and Alois Mock stated these show a welcome development in all walks of life as the result of reciprocal efforts. Political dialogue is continuous between the leaders of the two countries, work meetings between leaders of the various ministries are regular, technical and scientific relations are expanding, and tourism has considerably increased this year. Both sides stressed the importance of expanding economic cooperation, and devoted particular attention to large-scale joint ventures as, for isntance, the preparation of the Budapest-Vienna world exhibition planned for 1995, and Austrian participation in the building of the Gabcsikovo-Nagymaros barrage.

Discussing timely international issues, Peter Varkonyi and Alois Mock welcomed the enlivening of dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States, and the agreements concluded as a result of this. They voiced their hope that the forthcoming visit of President Reagan to Moscow would bring further advance, mainly in the field of arms restriction, and would promote the strengthening of peace and international security. They

stressed the importance of the Vienna follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. They agreed that the soonest possible conclusion of the meeting with a meaningful closing document can give further impetus to the Helsinki process.

Alois Mock invited Peter Varkonyi for an official visit to Austria. The invitation was accepted.

The Austrian foreign minister left Budapest on Saturday.

Further Reportage

For Austrian radio and newspaper coverage of the 2-day official visit of Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister Alois Mock to Hungary, including his talks with Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, MSZMP Chairman Janos Kadar and General Secretary Karoly Grosz, see the Austria section of the 1 June West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Federation of Romanians in Hungary Hold Meeting

AU2905120288 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 May 88 p 6

[MTI report: "Romanian National Minorities: Bilingualism in Public Life Is Common and Natural"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Romanians in Hungary Democratic Federation held a meeting in Mehkerek on 19 May during which they analyzed the cultural life of this Romanian village of 2,500 inhabitants and discussed the issues of bilingualism in the public life of villages inhabited by national minorities.

The network of cultural institutions set up a few years ago in this village, which is the only one in Hungary which is inhabited virtually only by Romanian minorities, adequately serves the national minority requirements. In children and youth groups, for example, 70 people are engaged in fostering the traditions of Romanian folk dance, and they will provide the future generation of followers of the prestigious local folk dancing movement. Educational lectures held in Romanian and reading and reciting competitions organized for school children provide opportunities to foster their mother tongue. The library organized 50 events last year which were attended by 3,200 people. Every third inhabitant of the village is a regular member of the local Romanian language library which offers a wide selection of books. The local national minority youth circle also functions well and organizes, among other things, various visual arts exhibitions.

It is common and natural to have bilingualism in the public life of villages where there is a sizable Romanian minority. In these villages, the various events are frequently held in Romanian. The federation encourages the community of national minority it represents to use their mother tongue more frequently during social and family events and celebrations.

RZECZPOSPOLITA Comments on Moscow Summit

AU0106115188 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28-29 May 88 pp 1, 11

[Maksymilian Berezowski commentary: "The Meaning and Magic of the Summit"]

[Text] President Reagan arrives in Moscow on Sunday to meet Mikhail Gorbachev for the fourth time. The Soviet-U.S. summit will also be attended by ministers, advisors, and experts, but the eye-to-eye meeting of the leaders of the largest world powers will impart the real importance to the talks. This is the meaning and magic of the summit.

The course and success of the summit are determined by readiness to make allowances for mutual state interests and to come to terms with contradictory requirements, a task that demands diplomatic virtuosity. However, no one doubts the role and responsibility assumed by the leaders. Judging by Gorbachev's and Reagan's statements, both of them have established contacts that favor dialogue and the gradual paving of the road to agreements.

We should note this with special attention, because, as great powers go, their dialogue is extremely extensive and because views on negotiated issues often diverge or at least show sharp differences. Negotiations mainly concern four areas—disarmament, regional conflicts, bilateral relations, and humanitarian issues.

The U.S. Senate managed to ratify the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles before President Reagan's plane landed in Moscow, and so the exchange of the ratification documents will be the crowning glory of the coming summit.

It is also expected that the summit will help to conclude accords on Soviet-U.S. economic, cultural, scientific cooperation, to bring closer restrictions on nuclear tests, and to sign the agreement on mutual information about missile tests.

On the other hand, negotiations about reducing by half of the Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive armaments are continuing. These negotiations on a treaty that is of key importance for the international situation are continuing not only because negotiators have not been able to eliminate disputed questions, but also because the bargaining within the U.S. Administration is still continuing. The administration has still not decided what kind of arsenal to maintain after reductions. Nevertheless, it is not out of the question that the treaty could be signed before the present administration goes out of office.

President Reagan, who for obvious reasons is especially keen on signing such a treaty before he retires, combines a realistic approach with the rhetoric that harks back to the previous period. This is because he continues to assert that it is possible and necessary to conduct negotiations from positions of strength.

If in the United States some people say that the urgent issues to be addressed by the summit are not momentous issues, this should also be ascribed to the fact that important changes have now taken place in Soviet-U.S. relations. This has been attested to by events since the autumn of 1985. Both sides want the fourth summit meeting to produce closer and more extensive cooperation and to prepare future accords. M. Gorbachev confirmed this in his interview for THE WASHINGTON POST when he said that improving relations is the "imperative of our times." George Shultz agreed with M. Gorbachev on this when he said that the Soviet leader wants "matters to forge ahead."

The world has now gotten used to the idea that each Soviet-U.S. summit in the past few years has been a lever to raise mutual relations to a higher level of mutual understanding and has constituted a point of departure for solving accumulated problems. It is no accident that a study group composed of prominent Soviet and U.S. persons has recently formulated an ambitious plan to put an end once and for all to the cold war, a task that failed during the period of detente in the seventies. Substituting cooperation for confrontation—a commitment that was proclaimed almost 20 years ago—has now much better chances of being realized.

PAP Cites Warsaw Press on Summit

LD3105110288 Warsaw PAP in English 1025 GMT 31 May 1988

[Text] Warsaw, May 31—All Warsaw dailies today carry reports and commentaries on the Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow. TRYBUNA LUDU's correspondent filed a dispatch headlined "Between History and Present Day," saying in part:

"We are witness to times and events in which, thanks to the new style of thinking and restructuring, positive changes in the international relations are quicker to take place in the East than in the West. This phenomenon can be clearly perceived here in Moscow during the summit meeting. Gorbachev suggests to and imposes on Reagan a faster pace of the dialogue, broader scale of world-wide, regional and bilateral agreements. He is ready to meet with the same U.S. President still before the end of the latter's term .if it only becomes possible to sign the 'START' Treaty.

"In this dialogue, Reagan sometimes plays the role of a partner satisfied with what has already been achieved, that gives him a pass to history as a leader who passed from a hostile position to the camp of advocates of peaceful neighborhood. He is satisfied with the INF Treaty and his presence in Moscow. He is the third U.S. President to make such a trip.

"Differences in Gorbachev's and Reagan's attitudes to many problems cannot belittle the importance of the dialogue, its lasting character and its influence on global relations. Moscow confirmed it also by the course of Monday talks held in two groups working with participation of Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and by the meeting between Soviet Minister of Defence Dimitriy Yazov and U.S. Secretary for Defence Frank Carlucci. These meetings are giving concrete dimension to the issues discussed during the summit," wrote TRYBUNA LUDU.

In its commentary on the same subject, RZECZPOSPOLITA wrote:

"Beyond any doubt, the fourth summit meeting will bring further progress in the Soviet-American relations so necessary for both sides and the world. There comes a question, however, how far it will go and what form it will take.

"The main stake is whether the 'new detente' in the USSR-U.S. relations will be given the seal of a stable and lasting phenomenon, covered by definite frames of obligations which correspond to the interests of the contracting parties in such a way that strict observance (of the obligations) becomes unavoidable.

"Briefly speaking, the basic task of the ongoing summit is to map out new frontiers of agreements.

"Judging by the fact that the quest for new perspectives was so actively undertaken by both capitals, despite that there are still many obstacles to overcome, in two days' time we should expect positive news of major weight."

USSR's Lizichev, Delegation Arrive

LD3105115688 Warsaw PAP in English 1045 GMT 31 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 31—A delegation of the main political board of the Soviet Army and Navy, led by head of the board Gen. Alexey Lizichev, came on a several-day visit here Monday at the invitation of head of the Polish Army's main political board Gen. Tadeusz Szacilo, the Polish Army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI reported.

During the talks at the Polish Army's main political board, the Soviet guests were told Monday about the most important tasks of the party, political, propaganda, agitation, cultural and educational work carried out in the Polish Army under the conditions of democratization of Poland's life and socialist restructuring, the paper said.

The Soviet guests told in turn Polish comrades about the execution of tasks of party and political work in the Soviet Army and Navy stemming from the Soviet policy of restructuring and glasnost and from detente in Soviet-U.S. relations.

Both sides exchanged views and shared experiences in cooperation between the Soviet and Polish Armed Forces and their main political boards. They paid a lot of attention to further strengthening of the brotherhood-in-arms between soldiers of the two allied armies.

The Soviet delegation with Gen. Lizichev laid bunches of flowers at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and at the cemetery-mausoleum of the Soviet Army soldiers, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI said.

Bulgarians Congratulated on Treaty Anniversary

AU3105142988 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28-29 May 88 p 2

[Congratulatory message from PZPR First Secretary W. Jaruzelski and Premier Z. Messner to Bulgarian counterparts on treaty anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; and Comrade Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, in Sofia:

Esteemed Comrades, on the 40th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the PPR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria we wish to extend to you, the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the fraternal Bulgarian people the cordial greetings from the PZPR Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the PPR.

Our treaty has created a lasting political-legal foundation for Polish-Bulgarian cooperation in many areas and has strengthened the traditional ties of friendship between our two peoples.

The vitality and importance of this treaty have been confirmed by the new treaty we signed in 1967.

We are pleased to note that the achievements of Polish-Bulgarian cooperation based on the community of ideological, political, and social aims have been exceedingly positive in the past 40 years. The fraternal cooperation between the PZPR and the BCP continues to play a special role in this.

We are deeply convinced that by realizing the many multiyear cooperation programs, covering all the most important sectors of our relations, we are helping to accelerate the development of the economy, science, and technology, and to promote the interests of our two states and peoples, and of the unity of the socialist community countries.

This is especially important now, when our two countries are continuing to implement their ambitious plans for accelerating economic development and for creatively developing the theory and practice of socialist construction.

The PPR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria continue to comprehensively support the USSR's important peace initiatives. Our two states and peoples are in favor of implementing the Soviet-U.S. elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and of taking further measures to completely free mankind from the threat of nuclear annihilation.

Dear comrades, on the day of our joint jubilee we wish you, all Bulgarian Communists, and all the Bulgarian people further successes in developing socialist Bulgaria, in strengthening its international position, and in promoting the joint struggle for peace and socialism.

Signed: Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR State Council; Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers.

Trade Unionists Leave for Geneva ILO Meeting

LD3106225888 Warsaw PAP in English
2000 GMT 31 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 31—Representatives of the Polish trade union movement included in a Polish tripartite delegation (government, employers, employees) left for Geneva to attend the 75th session of the International Labour Organization. The delegation includes representatives of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ and of trade unions which are not members of the OPZZ.

The rebirth of the trade union movement has been a natural and spontaneous process not controlled by anyone—writes a PAP journalist. The result of the process which is still going on, is the unique structure of this movement, unknown in the other countries.

The basic functions are performed by over 27 thousand factory organizations which are mostly self-governed and independent and have their own legal status.

Part of the factory organizations are cells of the national homogeneous trade unions of a traditional structure, as for instance, the Polish Teachers' Union which is the largest national organization, grouping almost 600 thousand members. There are a few unions of this kind, but most of the factory organizations are grouped into federations on rather loose principles.

At present, there are altogether 135 all-Poland trade unions registered, with federations prevailing among them. Such dispersion of the trade union movement is understandable as a reaction to the past when the interests of small professional groups were usually ignored. Gradually, concentric trends—attempts to join together related federations begin to emerge, following the natural course of events.

West 'Turning Blind Eye' to Political Changes

LD2805204188 Warsaw PAP in English
1435 GMT 28 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 28—Certain Western media which specialize in turning a blind eye to the Polish reality do not want to notice democratization of political life, one of the leading examples of which is the new People's Councils Election Law. Some of those centres claim openly that this year's elections in Poland are not going to be anything new, that they are not going to change anything. The centers also encourage people to boycott the elections.

Meanwhile, the elections which are to be held on June 19 differ essentially from the previous ones. It is a result of amendments introduced into the election law by the April 10, 1988 act. One of the basic changes consists in granting the right to nominate persons suggested as candidates for councillors also to a citizens' meeting convened to this end by bodies of town and rural population's self-governments.

Another fundamental change is the fact that every specified mandate on a district list of constituencies has two or three candidates placed next to it in alphabetical order. Should more than one candidate to a given mandate remain not-crossed-out on the ballot, it means that the choice has not been made.

It is such a fundamental change with respect to what has been practiced before that it will make it necessary to use the next three weeks for acquainting all electors, if possible, with this fact. This time it is not going to be just voting. This time it must be selection as well.

Western Reaction to Strikes Assessed

LD3005224788 Warsaw PAP in English
1820 GMT 30 May 88

["Wrong Assessments and Political-Economic Misunderstandings"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, May 30—The unsuccessful activities of relatively small groups which despite the stance of the majority of crews organized illegal strikes at the Lenin steelworks and the Gdansk shipyard a few weeks ago, were on the whole endorsed by the official circles on some Western countries.

This has shown how reluctant they are to depart from the scenarios which were adopted by NATO's decision-making circles a few years ago. That is why Hella Pick, a journalist from the GUARDIAN, is wrong in writing in

the paper's issue of May 20 that when the shipyard in Gdansk went on strike, the Western governments maintained reserve in their support for "Solidarnosc."

Not only the propaganda machine of the West but also the spokesmen of some Western governments engaged in support for this ex-organization which lost the support of Polish society. Moreover, some even went as far as to suggest that the West was ready to reconsider the matter of lending Poland economic assistance if the Polish authorities did not accept the postulates of the strike provocateurs.

This is a total misunderstanding for many reasons. Let us tackle only one. Poland wishes, above all, normal economic-financial relations which are in force in the whole world. The point is, therefore, to end the economic war against Poland. Despite the difficult situation, Poland, while reforming its economy, has been paying back more debt burdens than any normal credits which she is receiving.

Polish society is aware of these facts. It is time that some decision-making circles of the West come to understand this. The more so that the Poles, despite the sacrifice which they must bear, are fed up with destructive action serving the instrumental use of Poland in Western policy.

Kuron Describes Strike Activities

PM2705200188 Rome L'ESPRESSO in Italian
15 May 88 p 46-50

[Article by Polish Solidarity leader Jacek Kuron: "Harsh Struggle, Much Fear"; first paragraph is L'ESPRESSO introduction]

[Text] Jacek Kuron, 55, who has spent 9 years in prison and who founded the KOR (Workers' Defense Committee), is one of Solidarity's most popular leaders. We asked him to give us a first-hand account of the dramatic events that Poland is experiencing.

Monday 25 April—I return home after a long conversation with some Ukrainians. It was a difficult conversation concerning the coexistence of two peoples in a single homeland. Suddenly news arrives of the Bydgoszcz city transport strike. I contact my colleagues in the Solidarity leadership and trade union advisers.

Our opinion is unanimous: This is the start of a vast tide of strikes. The government has provoked it. Nobody with any common sense could believe that the workers would accept a rapid deterioration in their living standards—and this, without any tangible hopes. Who could still have faith in this government after so many disappointments? It was taken for granted that after the Bydgoszcz workers' successful strike the entire country would mobilize. Nevertheless I did not imagine that it would all happen so soon and so fast.

Tuesday 26 April—At about 1300 I receive a telephone call from Stanislaw Handzlik, a very well-known Solidarity leader dismissed from his job at Nowa Huta's Lenin Shipyard. He told me that a strike is beginning in the steelworks. It is being started by the pressing workshop, whose workers have always been the most combative. The demands concern chiefly pay—very complex matters, because my country's pay system is very complicated. Be that as it may, it is a matter of a general improvement in working conditions. Moreover, since Solidarity's national leadership has said that the compensation for the recent price increases should amount to at least 12,000 zlotys, they are demanding 18,000 zlotys. Furthermore, they are demanding the reinstatement of dismissed Solidarity activists. These include my informant. Since he is outside the steelworks, Handzlik does not yet know whether the pay demands concern only workers at Nowa Huta or all Polish workers. I gather from what he tells me that he is going to the steelworks. In fact he tells me so explicitly. I am afraid that someone will try to prevent him from doing so and am worried.

Immediately afterward I receive an avalanche of news. The immediate comparison that comes to mind is with summer 1980. At that time I was a kind of reception center for news about the strikes. The difference between 1980 and the present is the same as that between pluralism and a monolithic system. I must admit that pluralism works even less well than monolithism. In 1980 from a dozen telephone calls we managed to extract a story, but it was an accurate story. Now whoever hears some rumor passes it off as fact and it takes dozens of telephone calls to determine its accuracy.

I call Lech Walesa. At the end of our conversation he tells me: "We must be with the shipyard workers but we must realize that the solutions will not be found at the factory level. The changes must be of a structural, political, and economic nature and must embrace the entire country."

I try telephoning the regional Solidarity leaders. It is very difficult. I manage to contact Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, the Breslaw leader. He sounds very excited and ready to move. News arrives that Director Pustowka is due at Nowa Huta's Lenin Shipyard at approximately 2200 hours to start negotiations with the workers. More news arrives, this time from the Stalowa Wola steelworks: The workers have called a strike on 29 April. The immediate cause of the protest is the dismissal of two Solidarity activists. A 20,000 zlotys pay increase is also being demanded.

It is late at night. I talk with regional Solidarity leaders. We are unanimously agreed that we must be promptly informed of all that is happening and, if appropriate, act on it.

Wednesday 27 April—At dawn news arrives that at the Lenin steelworks, following the director's rejection of all the workers' demands, the strike committee has decided to add another—a 50 percent pay increase for everyone. Furthermore the workers are altering one of their demands—an 18,000 zlotys increase not only for themselves but for all Polish workers. In the morning I receive at home Bronislaw Geremek, Walesa's adviser; Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Solidarity spokesman; and Zbigniew Bujak, leader of the Warsaw free trade union. We telephone Walesa. Walesa says he is optimistic but believes it will not be easy. He repeats the theory of the need for profound structural changes, pluralism, and social understanding. He asks us to draft a declaration which he believes should be signed by all Solidarity leaders. However, it is impossible for the present to contact all members of the trade union's national leadership. We therefore persuade him that he alone should sign the declaration. Nevertheless we realize that it is also necessary to draw up a declaration by the entire Solidarity national leadership. It is impossible to convene it at present, however. We set to work. We write a draft and send people out to contact national leadership members and to submit our draft to them.

The names of the members of the Lenin Steelworks strike committee are communicated to me. There are nine of them led by Andrzej Szewczuwaniec.

We must check on the rumors about the municipal transport strikes in various of the country's cities. We discover that the strikes are nonexistent but that workers are adhering scrupulously to the safety regulations laid down in their contracts. In our country this is called an "Italian strike." Then news arrives that the police have entered Irena Woycicka's home, where a meeting of Solidarity's experts on pay matters was in progress. It takes dozens of telephone calls to check on this single report. So it goes on late into the night.

Thursday 28 April—Ever since the morning I have been receiving telephone calls from various factories, large and small, where strike plans are being announced and solidarity is being expressed with the workers at Nowa Huta's Lenin Steelworks. The news from the steelworks, however, is that the official trade union is backing the strike too and furthermore that the authorities are threatening the workers with police intervention. The management is asking the workers to sign a document stating: "I am participating in the strike even though I know it is illegal." The strike committee condemns such intimidatory practices.

The authorities' tactic is becoming clear. In Bydgoszcz the workers' demands have been met, since the action was led by official trade unionists, not Solidarity. In other words, the authorities are willing to pay but are afraid of real workers' representation.

At 1500 hours news arrives of a student demonstration at Krakow University and rumors about other factories planning strikes. Later I am brought pamphlets and posters. In the evening I leave a friend by the telephone and go to the Italian embassy. With Adam Michnik I meet with an Italian Socialist Party delegation led by Claudio Martelli. For a moment I am no longer overwhelmed by details of the unrest but manage to form an overall picture. We get along very well with the Italian Socialists. They talk about Italian problems and cooperation with the Communists and we talk about our own problems and the struggle against the Communists for a democracy.

Friday 29 April—I receive the declaration by the Breslaw regional Solidarity leadership. It says that if the authorities use force against the workers a strike will break out in that region too. It is the common theme running through all the declarations from the various factories and regions. At approximately 0800 hours news arrives from Stalowa Wola. The management has prevented some 300 workers—most of them known Solidarity activists—from entering the steelworks. It wanted to take them by bus to an unknown destination. Many of them rebelled and are now in the factory's social club, outside the gates. Nevertheless, despite all this, at 0700 hours the workers stopped work. Meanwhile further information is arriving from factories whose workers are expressing solidarity with those at the Lenin Steelworks. There are increasingly frequent reports of arrests in various cities.

At 1700 hours three gentlemen from the security services arrive at my home. Their intrusion occurs while I am listening to Radio Free Europe. Thus this very evening the whole of Poland will witness, live, the scene of my arrest. It is a 48 hour detention. This means that I spend Friday evening, the whole of Saturday, and Sunday 1 May through 1700 hours in the hospitable accommodation of my neighborhood police station. It is the first time I have been arrested since the death of my wife, Gaja. This time it is a less traumatic experience. It is cold, the cell is dirty and dilapidated, but I do not feel that terrible sense of loss. Even the fear of my detention being changed into an arrest is much less strong than before.

Sunday 1 May—Other detained colleagues tell me about clashes with the police, rallies, and so forth. I return home, discover that this year Solidarity's May Day rallies have been on a grander scale than in previous years and that they have taken place even in smaller locations. The workers at Stalowa Wola have won. Unfortunately the agreement is only verbal, but it is a compromise.

Monday 2 May—The strike at Breslaw's Dolmel factory starts this morning. Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, the Solidarity leader for that region and one of the most popular leaders in Poland, is with the workers. At approximately 1400 hours I receive a telephone call from Alina

Pienkowska, one of the Gdansk strike leaders in summer 1980. She describes to me what she can see from the window of her house, namely, the strike in the shipyard. It is an exciting moment for me. This is exactly how I and then everyone else learned about that strike.

At 1700 the management agrees to meet workers' demands at Breslaw's Dolmel plant. Again, however, it is only a verbal agreement and the pay promises are rather nebulous. Then news arrives of the arrest of members of Solidarity's national leadership. The first on the list is Bogdan Lis, then Zbigniew Bujak, and so forth. I fear that they did not have time before their arrest to agree on the text of the national leadership declaration. I am on tenterhooks awaiting replies to the draft sent to them a few days ago. Then Adam Michnik telephones me from Lech Walesa's home in Gdansk. He tells me that Walesa has gone to the shipyard, then reads me the text of the national leadership declaration. It is an important document. Its tone is calm and it states that people must struggle to improve their living standards. Then it expresses support for the workers but also states that the solution of the country's dramatic problems must be found at the national level. In other words, an understanding must be reached between government and society. As Michnik is reading me the document Walesa arrives back home. Walesa says that he has decided not to stay in the shipyard and that it will soon be isolated. In any case the situation is reminiscent of 1980—the same gates, the banners, the pictures of the pope. Meanwhile at Nowa Huta's Lenin Steelworks the director has decided to negotiate with the strikers but refuses to talk with the entire strike committee, and especially with the dismissed workers on the committee. The workers turn down the director's conditions.

Tuesday 3 May—At dawn a strike breaks out at Pafawag, an engineering works in Breslaw. This is followed by strikes in other factories. AT 1100 hours I am told that Adam Michnik has been arrested. At 1300 my telephone is cut off. Now I will have to work under much more difficult conditions. The basic problem remains: Has the government come to its senses? Have the authorities realized that there is no solution to this situation without an understanding? However, the very fact that I am asking myself this question could mean that I am the one who understands nothing. The objection could be made that even after so many years of struggles I have still not realized that this government never learns anything. Be that as it may, even they—the Communists—must have learned something over all these years. For that matter, this was admitted— with reference to Gorbachev and the Soviets—by Mieczyslaw Rakowski himself, one of the regime's top representatives, at a private meeting: "We have always resolved conflicts by saying that there is an ultimate force that could intervene if things were to take a turn for the worse, but now we are in a situation in which this somebody might not want to intervene." We—society— have known this for some time but now Rakowski is saying it to members of the apparatus. What they do not yet realize is that the stakes are high. It is a matter of being able to depend on a government that enjoys society's trust. On the other hand I am not sure that we will succeed. This is why apart from being hopeful, I am also very afraid.

Press Cited on Walesa, School, Solidarity
AU0106093188 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 28 May 88 p 2

[From the "press review"]

[Excerpts] The April issue of KONFRONTACJE published an interview with OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz by Jerzy Szczesny. Here is an excerpt from it:

[Szczesny] Would you meet with Lech Walesa if such a meeting could improve social moods and inspire people with new faith?

[Miodowicz] I was asked the same question at a press conference in Yugoslavia, and because little has changed since that conference, my reply is identical: Such a meeting is possible, but the essential thing is what kind of meeting it would have to be. After all, its point would certainly not be looking deeply into each other's eyes. And if such a meeting would have to be a spectacle, then I would have to win my community's approval and acceptance of such an initiative, just as Lech Walesa would have to with regard to his own community. [passage omitted]

WPROST on 22 May published an interview with Krzysztof Zanussi, movie director and producer, by Piotr Andrzejewski and Janusz Michalak. Here is an excerpt from it:

[Zanussi] The political excesses in the fifties, especially those in the forties, took place in conditions of silent agreement by large sections of intellectuals and were far more drastic than was the case during martial law. However, there is no objective yardstick with which to measure injustice and wrongs. Things are now even "worse" if we consider people's present aspirations to articulate their needs. In those past days many of the abuses committed by the authorities were in a way taken for granted, but today people generally regard as inadmissible many things that are much less drastic.

ECHO KRAKOWSKIE on 12 May published a statement by Mieczyslaw Noworyta, the superintendent of education and upbringing in Krakow. Here as an excerpt from it:

The name "social school" is a screen for private schools. This idea has been recently circulated and propagated quite often, as also attested to by some journals. I would like to point out that private schools are actually elitist schools for rich parents. But the basic imperative of education is to ensure that every child, no matter who his parents are, has the same chance and, as far as possible, the same conditions of education. The division into

private and state schools and into richer and poorer schools is just discrimination. The basic schooling must be free and programmatically and organizationally uniform. That is, it must be run by the state.

The April issue of KONFRONTACJE published an interview with Professor Dr Henryk Samsonowicz, a historian and former rector of Warsaw University, by Anna Bilska and Stefan Marody. Here is an excerpt from it:

[Samsonowicz] Some government people think that political culture amounts to the skill to listen. Yet this is a catastrophe not only for those who listen, but also for those who want to be heard. They completely dissociate themselves from reality.

One says that the 15 months of Solidarity were chaos. Yes, there was some chaos, but I must say for myself that during the first 12 months of Solidarity, people's political culture continued to develop at lightning speed. The bodies that in September 1980 behaved like nursery children and met only to air their frustrations and complexes, became as mature as university graduates within a few months. What people continued to learn in the first place was to assume responsibility, to make decisions, to realize decisions, and to promote the rule of law. They thus assumed responsibility for their own rights and for those they wanted to recognize. It will be very easy to recall these sleeping facts and this acquired knowledge as soon as there is an opportunity to do so.

PZPR Plenum in Gdansk Discusses Socioeconomics

AU2705190988 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 May 88 p 2

[Text] PAP—The 24 May session of the PZPR plenum in the Gdansk shipyards was devoted mainly to the shipyards' socioeconomic situation following the strike at the beginning of May.

In line with the report presented by Wiktor Borcuch, first secretary of the plant committee, the plenum appraised the strike as a political action and as a premeditated attack by adversaries of socialism, launched at a place and time selected by these adversaries. This was made easier for them by factors such as the money-market situation, weaknesses in the economic reform, the young people's unsolved problems, and the shipyards' difficult economic situation. The wage claims raised at the beginning were merely a pretext to agitate the shipyard workers.

This plan failed, mainly thanks to the stance of a considerable majority of shipyard workers, who refused to support the strike, and thanks to the prudent action taken by the authorities. Stanislaw Bejger, PZPR Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Gdansk committee, agreed with this appraisal and praised the workers, the manager, the party organization, and the trade union for their correct attitude and responsible action.

The plenum noted that the most important current task is to clear the production backlog and to work out as soon as possible a program for restructuring the shipyards and creating their full fiscal autonomy. This is possible, but many weaknesses, especially organizational ones, will have to be eliminated.

Shipyard manager Czeslaw Tolwinski told the plenum that the premier had appointed a special interdepartmental team, which continues to examine the problems of the shipbuilding industry and which will soon make the necessary proposals.

Economic Reform Committee Holds Meeting

LD2705220988 Warsaw PAP in English 1842 GMT 27 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 27—Chaired by Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers Zdzislaw Sadowski, a meeting of the Council of Ministers' Committee for implementation of Economic Reform was held here today. The committee considered drafts of further executive legislation stemming from the law on extraordinary powers and prerogatives for the Council of Ministers.

Opinions were adopted on proposed regulations leading to perfectioning and acceleration of transformations in the organizational structure of the economy, which would consist in division, merging and liquidation of enterprises.

Discussed were also draft solutions meant to stimulate economic units into more efficient use of production assets, buildings and constructions, land and inventories.

The committee was also acquainted with a latest version of the draft law on undertaking economic activities, and expressed its positive evaluation of alterations introduced into it.

The committee approved of a modified draft law on engaging in economic activity in Poland with participation of foreign capital.

Council of Ministers Meets on Messner Visit

LD3005220188 Warsaw PAP in English 2052 GMT 30 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 30—During a session held here today, the Council of Ministers acquainted itself with a report on the course and the results of Premier Zbigniew Messner's official, friendly visit to Yugoslavia between May 19th-21st this year.

The Council stressed that the talks conducted during the visit with the leading figures of Yugoslavia's political and economic life confirmed the will of strengthening and developing the favourably progressing Polish-Yugoslav cooperation in all areas, especially in the economic and scientific-technological fields.

During the visit the sides discussed certain problems of the current international situation. Poland and Yugoslavia voiced their support for the further, more decided action for the arresting of the arms race which is against the basic interests of security of the European nations and the world. Functioning of Foreign Capital [subhead]

The Council of Ministers adopted draft laws which regulate the functioning of foreign capital in Poland.

Proposed are the simplification and, basically, the standardization of regulations and the introduction of allowances for investors who have already undertaken or wish to undertake economic activity on the Polish territory. The directions of the adopted solutions are fully concordant with the principles of the second stage of the economic reform. The drafts envisage legal solutions characteristic of joint capital companies including the introduction of the institution of a limited liability company, as well as a fully foreign-capital enterprise.

The scope of Polish economic subjects empowered to form companies, which will obtain the status of non-socialized enterprises, will be extended. The provision requiring that Polish companies own the control share in the company will be dropped. Taxes and the quantity of the compulsary re-sale of hard-currencies will be lowered.

The Council of Ministers adopted a draft law on the principles of undertaking economic activity. The draft law will be one of the principal legal settlements of the reform. It is expected that it will significantly contribute to the stimulation of collective and individual activeness and entrepreneurship and will create conditions for the development of economic initiatives.

The draft law will be filed with the Sejm earlier than envisaged by the realization timetable of the second stage of the economic reform.

Law on Bonds [subhead]

The Council of Ministers adopted a law on bonds. It will create conditions making possible the flow of monetary resources between state enterprises and other economic units, both socialized and private which have legal status as well as natural persons and which are interested in financing economic activity.

The draft law on bonds widens the right of their emmission to all economic units with legal ststus. The Draft states that social organizations which have legal status and whose principal activity does not have an economic character, as well as foundations which carry out secondary economic activity, may issue bonds if they guarantee solvency and other obligations flowing from this act. Special Powers [subhead]

The Council of Ministers adopted two ordinances which have the character of executive acts on the special powers for the Council of Ministers.

The first specifies the conditions in which the chairman of the Council of Ministers may make decisions concerning the division, merger and liquidation of enterprises. Such decisions will most frequently be dictated by considerations of the de-monopolization of the economy, development of competitiveness and the better utilization of fixed assets with respect to enterprises whose economic and technological conditions do not warrant their improvement. The course of bankruptcy proceedings will be accelerated.

The second ordinance, pertaining to a stabilization tax, intended to force better management effectiveness and stimulate the turnover of the factors of production. The tax will cover economic units which possess excessive or redundant stocks and those which possess unused fixed assets.

Also excess land tax should make possible the gaining of new land for housing construction or other investment activities without using up farmlands.

The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on the application of a system of material incentives in economic units for resource, material and fuel savings.

Central Control-Revision Commission in Session

AU3105150188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 May 88 p 2

[Text] PAP—The Central Control-Revision Commission Presidium was in session on 26 May.

The session discussed the main lines of the commission's work in the second half of 1988. Regional commissions will focus their attention on the participation of party echelons in realizing the second stage of the economic reform, in the performance of offices and units providing services for citizens, and in strengthening the party. They will also pay special attention to individual party tasks.

The sixth plenum of the Central Control-Revision Commission, which will be held in the fall, will also be dedicated to the realization of the second stage of the economic reform in the light of the checks carried out by regional control commissions.

The session studied the results of checks on the implementation of selected issues of the 16th Central Committee plenum resolution on the role of the workers class in the party and the state and evaluated the processes

taking place in the workers representation in the composition of the party, the workers militancy in government, the development of workers awareness, and the workers' participation in culture and education.

The session discussed the results of checks carried out last March by the central commission with regard to the statutory supervision by voivodship control commissions over party judicial functions. These checks were carried out in six voivodships.

The results of checks show that most voivodship control commissions carry our such checks on daily basis and rapidly respond to irregularities.

The session studied the evaluation of the performance of the control system within the party and considered proposals to improve this system. It recommended that work to this end should continue.

The session accepted proposals resulting from the evaluation of the correctness of the party's judicial functions in primary party organizations and party commissions.

The session noted the organizational principles of checking on how the regional control commissions deal with letters, complaints, and proposals from the population, and on the judicial functions of the Central Control-Revision Commission and the Voivodship Control-Revision Commissions in the light of the analysis of their judicial decisions of the first quarter of 1988.

Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, Politburo member and chairman of the Central Control-Revision Commission, chaired the session.

Czyrek Speaks to Lodz Plant Workers

AU3105114188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 May 88 p 5

[Report on speech by Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, to workers of the Skogar leather plant in Lodz on 24 May]

[Text] Addressing workers at Skogar, J. Czyrek said that the economic reform still has many loopholes and that, although many solutions are correct, on occasions their side effects are in conflict with the pro-supply and pro-production nature of the present changes. Special powers for the government are expected to eliminate these shortcomings, J. Czyrek said. We have even considered freezing prices and wages, even though such measures change nothing, except that time can be gained to get a grip on the causes for the bad situation. If inflation goes on increasing in the fall or winter, we will resort to these measures. As for attempts to block the economic reform, I do not think that these attempts are deliberate. People lose their bearings between the old methods and the new conditions. We must seek to ensure that the government enjoys full independence of action and that the party sees that our activities help us to achieve our goals.

Baryla Addresses Rawa Mazowiecka Workers

AU3105113988 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 May 88 p 5

[Report on speech by Jozef Baryla, Politburo member and Central Comittee secretary, to workers of the Vis measuring instruments plant in Rawa Mazowiecka on 24 May]

[Text] J. Baryla told the workers at Vis that the Politburo will soon comprehensively examine the problems of the younger generation and evaluate the realization of earlier party and state decisions.

Speaking of the performance of the plant's party organizations under new conditions, he said that the independence and initiative of primary party organizations is acquiring supreme importance, and that this line was emphasized by the fourth plenum last year. Independent primary party organizations, which are not spoon-fed by the party committees and which know all about their plants and about the causes of possible disturbances and dangers to the economic reform, are able to effectively lead and serve the working people.

J. Baryla stressed that primary party organizations can best achieve this condition if they deepen their knowledge of the economic reform and see that whatever happens in their plants is under their control.

Ensuring that work is productive and of good quality is a special task, and that is why primary party organizations should be in daily contract with workers, promote enterprising workers, and train party members in correctly representing party policy in trade unions and self-management bodies.

Ciosek Warns Opponents of Reforms, 'Anarchists'

AU3105113388 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 May 88 p 2

[Report on speech by Central Committee Secretary Stanislaw Ciosek to workers of the Kazel electronic plant in Koszalin on 25 May]

[Text] Addressing Kazel plant workers, S. Ciosek discussed the depth of the economic reform in the area of management and said that the proposed introduction of communal ownership will increase the powers of the people's councils in meeting social needs, while increas-

ing their responsibility for the functioning of communal ownership.

Referring to the 11 May law on special powers for the government, S. Ciosek said that these powers will be used to accelerate the economic reform.

We will demolish stupid regulations, he said, those that hinder progress and provide comfortable shelters for the opponents of the reform. And we will safeguard wise regulations against those who go in for anarchy in the economy and in public life.

Further Reportage on 2d Day of LCY Conference

Socioeconomic Relations Group Meets

LD3005223888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0822 GMT 30 May 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 30 May (TANJUG)—It is high time that it was established in our society that no more than 35 percent, or at most 40 percent, can be deducted from the income of work organizations because this situation cannot go on as it is now, said Dragoljub Bajic (Osijek), the first speaker in the debate in the LCY Conference Group for Socioeconomic Relations, which continued its work this morning.

Mentioning that victims are being sought in these crucial times when we are looking for a way out of the crisis, Bajic pointed to the specific nature of the current moment. Today, he said, it is most important that "we sacrifice" lack of knowledge, idleness, irresponsibility, and privileges, that we "sacrifice" part of our mania for producing paper and that we make a constitution and laws that will be as simple and understandable as possible to working people. [passage omitted]

In a markedly theoretical expose, Petar Gosev, a delegate from the Macedonian LC Central Committee, dealt in particular with explaining various aspects of the role of capital in socialist self-managing society, osberving that each amount of capital represents some kind of past labor and that this latter category is in no way our discovery.

Whether self-management is possible without responsibility was a question raised at the rostrum by Savo Suzic, a delegate from the Tuzla miners. His view is that it is not, and he therefore advocated the strengthening of responsibility at all levels but at the same time the prevention of various malversations and failures, above all by pepole in management. Suzic also drew attention to the need to strengthen the responsibility of workers' councils in the running of enterprises, which is contrary to current tendencies for everything to be regulated in advance, something that has an impact on reducing the motivation to work. Suzic warned of the pleading that has been going on for 10 years now for a market economy and at the same time warned against the strengthening of administrative measures and interference by the state in industrial development. This causes fear among the working class, which is not convinced of the sincerity of advocacy of a market economy.

Although each dinar invested in the tourist business is recouped three times over in a short time, where we are in this economic branch is very neglected, said Albin Debevec (Koper). While there is great unemployment throughout the country, people are leaving the tourist industry because working conditions are difficult, and there are also many unresolved problems. In addition, hotel construction is twice as expensive as in the developed countries. This reduces competitiveness, and there is also great uncertainty resulting from the eocnomic policy measures that most frequently are short-term and very fickle. In the world, however, conditions for the sale of package tours must be made available to purchasers 1 year in advance, which our workers in tourism are most frequently not in a position to do because they do not know what kind of measures await them, Debevec said.

Yugoslavia needs not just economic reform but also social reform, said Slobodan Milosevic. His judgment is that attempts so far to change the situation have ended in failure, mainly because we worked in a piecemeal fashion.

In Milosevic's view, we should not repeat this mistake. We should not, he went on, stick to limiting personal incomes and expect people to accept this unless we say clearly what is achieved in society by this and when. This problem, Milosevic added, cannot be solved merely by a program of social measures because a position in society cannot be built on social assistance but on work.

Milosevic warned that unless decisive steps are taken in the summer the crisis will deepen even further. Mobilization for the future should be carried out, and we should not wait for the prior clarification of all our disagreements from the distant and more recent past and only then take action. We have a duty to unite and to understand each other, not only for our own sakes but for the sake of future generations. If previous generations had thought as we do today, not one victory over the invaders would have been won.

The elected leadership, Milosevic said, has a duty to act in accordance with the wishes of the people. If it does not, the people will replace it, in a normal way, in a civilized and democratic way. Unless reform is implemented by the end of the fall, the LC should, Milosevic believes, call for an extraordinary congress in order to elect a new leadership.

Aleksandra Naka from Krusevac energetically opposed demands to suspend the earmarking of funds for the undeveloped regions. It is vital, she said, to reduce the relative stagnation in the development of Montenegro, Macedonia, and Kosovo, and find solutions that will ensure the common interest in investing in the more rapid development of these areas. At present, she added, when it comes to pooling resources, the position of the undeveloped is often unequal. "Fat" guarantees are sought from banks, outdated equipment is sometimes given, and there is insistence on goods being marketed exclusively through the network of work organizations from developed areas. The majority of funds continue to be channelled into investment in raw materials in the undeveloped areas, which worsens their otherwise unfavorable economic structure.

The field is a factory that can employ an unlimited number of people, and it will not generate losses, said Salih Kekic (Bosnia-Hercegovina). In his view, agriculture is our biggest but insufficiently exploited potential.

One of the basic tasks of Communists, and of the whole of society, Kekic believes, should be the return of the work force to the village. Young people should be retained and motivated to work in agriculture. According to him, the fragmentation of holdings is also a big problem and something that should be resolutely opposed. For the village, this is a bigger brake on development than restricted land tenure.

Like several speakers before him in the discussion, Sadik Lepera from Sarajevo's UNIS enterprise pointed to the vital need to establish, as soon as possible, and by the end of the year at the latest, the majority of the reform changes. He stressed that there should be an expression of unity not only within the LCY but also within the various scientific and state commissions that are working on reforms.

Lepara also drew attention to the importance of motivating workers in order to give dynamism to the economy. Motivation to work is an economic category and not some kind of idyllic song, he said, and expressed doubt whether the present intervention law on personal incomes is essential. He is convinced that this law has provoked great dissatisfaction on the part of workers and much hesitation about how the May and June payments will be made. [passage omitted]

According to Andrej Marinc's assessment, our development has for a long time been "real socialist," and this means based on administering and voluntarism often contrary to the needs of the country and economy. When we had to have a firmer orientation toward exports, which Slovenia has advocated, the state launched and implemented the concept of the so-called substitution of imports. The consequences were all the more severe because a good deal of capacities, constructed for this purpose, remained unfinished and because they are not working at full strength, although a large part of foreign loans were spent on them. All this caused harmful consequences.

Stating that in the future we cannot count on using additional foreign capital to the same extent as before, Marinc insisted that we turn to huge and poorly exploited production and human potentials. However, he went on, the condition for their successful activation is the corresponding motivation, which has been lacking so far. Marinc stressed in particular that we must follow the example of the developed world, where stress is placed on motivating and stimulating creative work and the contribution of individuals and groups.

After having emphasized that we are faced with two concepts of the Yugoslav Federation—a normative one in the Constitution and those having a statist and state-orientated impact—Andrej Marinc drew attention to the fact that any statism, bureaucratism, or centralism is harmful and dangerous, even for the future of the country. He illustrated this baleful state of affairs by the fact that there is again talk in the Federation about the division of "the cake," This, furthermore, is not unusual when at this level the fate of two-thirds of the social product, made up of the deficits of the National Bank, the federal budget, and federal interventions in the economy, is decided.

Speaking briefly "in theses," Zarija Martinovic (Kraljevo) stressed that the LCY is not a gathering of republican and provincial parties, but a united organization and that therefore an end should be put to the practice, after significant agreements, of individuals always appearing afresh with arguments and actions contrary to what has been agreed. He added that we must immediately overcome the fragmentation of the economy, the organization of which operates like "the economy of Robinson Crusoe"—each for itself. In order to achieve this, we cannot only change some laws, but we must suspend them as a whole.

We must do away with the legal guarantee of a job, and in its place we should place more emphasis on guaranteeing the right to work, Martinovic went on, observing in a pictureseque fashion that today the situation is impossible because "unless you are run over by a train, no one can remove you from a job once you have landed one." We must, comrade lawyers, protect social property, just as you protect your own private property, and many problems will be overcome.

When it is a matter of Yugoslavia, we must go further in the political system than those sentences from the constitutional principles that specify that it is a voluntary creation of our nations and nationalities. According to Martinovic, before this it must be noted that Yugoslavia is a creation of the revolution, a class creation, a historical creation, and only afterwards a voluntary one, because voluntariness can easily be "divested of its voluntariness."

In this context, he stressed that the republics and provinces cannot be in parallel with the state of Yugoslavia. Such a stance cannot be called unitarist, nor is it a viewpoint that a strong Yugoslavia is good for everyone, and vice versa—a weak Yugoslavia would be weak for everyone.

Working people do not want such an inefficient party, said Breda Blaznik from Ljubljana. Likewise, they do not want a life on the borders of existence. They do not want a life in which young people all over the country are not enabled even to work. They do not want a life in which they do not know what tomorrow will bring. Hence, we must leave the conference with clear tasks for each

person from the municipality to the Federation, both in terms of the reform of the economic system, as well as in terms of the vital changes in the most unwieldy normative system in the world [transmission interrupted, TANJUG parts 7 and 8 not received]

For Ante Markovic, a member of the LCY Central Committee, there are many obstacles to the moves for reform that come from conservative and dogmatic forces, according to whom all that is needed is an agreement in the party on a turnabout in unfavorable trends, for everything to be resolved, provided there is unity. Recalling our earlier experience, Markovic observes that solutions are not be found here.

He sees true solutions in action grouped into three areas. In the first instance, he says, we must finally and definitively accept the integral market, as a civilized achievement without which it is impossible to achieve commodity production. Without this, with the negation of any one segment of the market—goods, labor, and capital—it is impossible to achieve commodity production. [passage omitted]

Leopold Frelih proposed that the conference should come out clearly for the affirmation of cooperative ownership, as well as all forms of the association of peasants, where this serves their material interests. The party should liberate itself from the ideologization of peasants, he added in picturesque fashion, and "leave him to fatten his cow, because then society will have sufficient meat, milk, and food."

Differentiation in the LC should be implemented constantly and above all on the basis of the results of work and the implementation of LC stances. In contrast to this, differentiation in our country is implemented most frequently after a campaign and after the discovery of an affair and under pressure from the public, said Joze Peric (Rijeka). He advocated the democratization of cadre policy. This would, among other things, mean the fielding of more candidates and the introduction of the secret ballot.

The LC should not interfere in the decisionmaking processes or set itself up in the role of arbiter. Its role is to launch initiatives and to check on the behavior of LC members in the implementation of agreed policy.

Joze Peric advocated the adoption of a law abolishing all bodies that do not have a defined sphere of activity and responsibility, above all various councils that cost this country a lot.

Janez Zemljaric, a member of LCY Central Committee, pointed out the untenability of the practice of our advocating in principle for years market conditions for business operations, while at the same time we are unable to liberate ourselves from state concern for the development of reproduction. On the other hand, there are many instances of businesses turning to the state with the demand for their specific position to be recognized and for special stimulative measures to be approved for them and so on.

Zemljaric familiarized delegates with the concept of the economic reform that the FEC has prepared and also partially outlined. According to him, the essence of the reform is in the orientation toward market criteria. Also envisioned are changes to the structure of our economy as well as a series of measures for radical changes in the economic and political system.

In parallel with the economic reform, which has begun, it is vital also to establish measures of social protection for the most endangered sections of the population. Social programs that would be financed out of funds of common reserves and taxes and so on are urgently needed to be adopted. Social policy is also complementary with the corresponding employment policy, above all in small businesses, tourism, or the better use of existing capacities. At the same time the financial consolidation of Kosovo, Macedonia, and Montenegro must be accelerated because the greater social security of workers and of the population as a whole in the sociopolitical communities will be ensured in this way. [passage omitted]

In the view of Blagoje Jasevski (Macedonia), the conference should take clear and concrete stands on the vital questions of the development of society. This is the only way for shaken confidence to be restored to the LC. In his view too it is necessary to begin the process of the reintegration of the LC, and cadres who have led us into this situation, he said, can no longer remain in public posts.

The market economy, Jasevski continued, requires more know-how, responsibility, and creative cadres. Restrictive measures will particularly affect the undeveloped parts of the country, so it is necessary to consider them further and apply them selectively.

Dusan Sinigoj advocated strengthening the role of workers in the management of production, rejecting a statist or some other nonself-managing conception. The Constitution must guarantee the economic autonomy of economic subjects and facilitate the free selection of methods in which the economy will be organized.

Sinigoj proposed that the conference should support the demand that those constitutional changes about which there is agreement be adopted as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

How long, comrades, do you think the delay in solving the crisis can be continued? This was a question which Miodrag Perovic (Niksic) addressed from the rostrum to the members of LC central committees—from provincial ones to the federal ones. Pointing out that people have had enough of uncertainty and people being economical with the truth, Perovic advocated that the

process of bureaucratization should be halted above all in the LC. At the same time, the LC must begin "a showdown with thievery," and here legal scope for the confiscation of illicitly acquired property must be created. I maintain that the funds that would be secured by confiscation would outstrip the amount of the federal budget, Perovic said. However, when, in the examination of the origin of property, one has arrived at the possessions of an official, this work is suspended. On the other hand, it is requested of workers that they save, although they can do this only at the expense of not feeding their children. This is all the more paradoxical as the working class has been in power for decades now, but even today it is forced to fight for its rights by going on strike, Perovic concluded.

For years we did not dare to switch over to market conditions of doing business because it was easier for us to live in peace in a poor society, especially while it was possible to obtain foreign loans more easily, said Dragutin Kosovac, a member of the LCY Central Committee. We should not deceive ourselves that the transition to market conditions of doing business will be easy and painless, because at least initially there will be a sudden price increase, the closing of unprofitable factories, a labor force surplus, and an increase in unemployment. The way out is not simply in the adoption of measures of social policy but, above all, in productive employment in small businesses, tourism, agriculture, and in the service activities. Greater social stratification that cannot be "ironed out" by a new taxation policy should also be reckoned with.

An integrated market, the need for the affirmation of which was spoken of in some detail earlier by Ante Markovic, attracted the attention of many of the subsequent delegates as well, though they did not always have identical assessments, particularly on the question of the labor market.

Having stressed that the LCY should not allow responsibility for failures to fall on social ownership and on the working class, Djurdjica Bokan (Zagreb) observed that, regarding the labor market, if it were really introduced then workers would have to be told with which employer they should make some kind of contract. If labor becomes a commodity, then we must be clear about the fact that workers must have some other trade union of their own that will know how to defend their interests.

We must make a thorough analysis about what is understood by the labor force market, Djurdjica Bokan said. Workers, she adds, should say what they think on this issue, and it should not be only some scientific workers and elite representatives of the people who speak on this. It seems to me that such intercession is an attempt to shift onto the working class the whole burden of previous and future failures. [passage omitted]

Joining in the advocation to set about as soon as possible the implementation of the economic reform, Vlado Klemencic assessed that it is necessary to begin preparations for the wholesale reform of the country's constitutional system. It is obvious, he added, that we will not be able to stick just to the draft constitutional amendments.

I would be pleased, Klemencic said, if we were to abandon the current method of changing the economic system as soon as possible. Everything that we believe has placed a brake on the development of society should be changed, but we should not be burdened ourselves with the desire that this be done immediately. We should not wait for some almighty "autumn package," but should set about action immediately. [passage ommitted]

The word togetherness, said Dane Jelovac from Sombor, was not "thought up" by friends, but by enemies of this country. It needs to be replaced as soon as possible by unity, without which there is no way out of the crisis. Jelovac advocated in particular that a destinction be drawn between political, management, and self-managing functions. He, too, supported the proposal that unless the conference brings the desired results an extraordinary congress should be scheduled.

Pointing out that the linear application of the law on the restriction of personal incomes has stimulated many strikes by workers throughout the country, Ljubo Milutinovic (Doboj) advocated that instead of restrictive methods that demotivate employees, conditions should be ensured for greater production, cost cutting, and an increase in productivity. After all, it is only in this way that inflation can be eliminated and the crisis overcome, Milutinovic said.

We are not all responsible for failures that are the consequence of insufficient political vigilance and insufficient expertise. We must persist in the process of differentiation above all because of the positive changes that it should facilitate. However, in the final analysis, we should not run away from holding an extraordinary congress, said Milutinovic.

Advocating both the ideological unity and unity in action of the LC, something which this conference too must contribute towards, Milutinovic believes that we do not need nine, but only one, LC statute. We must transform the conclusion of this conference into concrete action and not into papers, was the message of the delegate from Doboj.

Herman Rigelnik (Gorenje) pointed out that there is plenty of talk about the need to introduce market laws into business operations but that many responsible organs, even not by mistake, have not ensured the implementation of this principled orientation! He also advocated consistent cadre renewal because "those who have led us into the crisis, quite certainly cannot pull us out of it."

Market laws cannot be introduced "by pressing a button" but in stages, Rigelnik said. He also advocated an operative program of measure for society to find a way out of the crisis. However, he sharply criticized the FEC for the policy it is conducting because this is the path "of equals into poverty".

Advocating respect for individuality and variations, Rigelnik said opposing initiatives to "wipe them out" are unjustified. To this end, in this words, the goals of the Federation cannot be given priority over republican and provincial ones. However, on the other hand, no republic of province can demand for itself what is not recognized as a right to others, Rigelnik concluded. [passage omitted]

Mirjana Mateska (Bitolj) said that we had adopted social agreements on distribution in order to make earnings conditional upon income and ensure that everywhere for the same work approximately the same personal incomes are paid, but in practice we are not implementing these agreements. Sometimes even intervention laws that we are adopting are not in accordance with social agreements. [passage omitted]

The next two speakers, Mirko Joveski (Kicevo) and Milos Petrovic (Sisak iron works) fully devoted their contributions to the economic position of the activities in which they work: the first in agriculture, the second in ferrous metallurgy. Their message was otherwise quite similar: Endless administration has brought both activities to near poverty. [passage omitted]

The policy of reforms, supported by the LCY also has wide support among our workers employed abroad, Marjan Orozen, member of the LCY Central Committee, said. In this policy they see the bright spot of our future and a realistic basic for a development offensive, on condition that the necessary unity is achieved.

Contrary to some ideas in our country, our workers employed abroad believe that production should be subordinated to people, rather than to profit. We should watch out, Orozen continued, that through a policy of deregulation, conditions for decreasing workers' influence on managing production are not created as well, and that self-managing relations are not "taken apart." It is wrong to think that the working class, in order to get out of the crisis, would be ready to abandon self-management.

Ilija Rodic from Belgrade spoke of a big outflow of cadres out of the country and asked whether the Yugoslav economy could bear the expense of educating people who later would not bring income to it. In the country there is already a great number of jobs we cannot fill, and therefore the LC should deal more with this question. [passage omitted]

In a short debate, Predrag Kirovski from Skopje expressed support for demands for speedier changes in society and the economy. In particular, he spoke in favor of ensuring the social security of citizens and more efficient health protection. The health service is in a very difficult situation and is stretched between the needs of the population and limited material possibilities.

Passing on a message from the Communists of Livno, Momcilo Grkovic spokes in favor of a greater unity in action so that this meeting would not be remembered as yet another "parade of impotence." He also said that the entire social community should devote greater attention to education, since the success of our participation in technological development also depends on this.

Ivo Marenk (Ljubljana) believes that instead of organizing an extraordinary congress, we should more comprehensively ask the question of accountability and dismiss those who had only vocally accepted the conclusions of the 13th congress, but had not actually implemented them. Many even blocked the realization of the agreed policy, and because of this the opening of a "packet of measures" for a way out of the crisis has started only recently after a delay of 2 years. [passage omitted]

Zagreb delegate Drazen Rosandic presented a difficult situation in which the young are unemployed: 80 percent of the 1 million unemployed persons in the country are young people, he said, stressing that our biggest social difference is whether one is employed or unemployed. But to be employed and do your job poorly, he continued, is the most immoral thing in society. [passage omitted]

The next two speakers, Igor Krizman (delegate from the Slovene LC Central Committee) and Magdalena Kovac (Novi Knezevac) submitted their contributions in writing and said only a few sentences. Krizman demanded the creation of conditions that would make it posible for big human production potential, which we have, to become prominent, particulary in social activities, while Magdalena Kovac stressed that even the most successful producers of cattle did not succeed in creating income, and that in this area society should speedily intervene.

Despite orientations, agriculture is increasingly lagging behind in development, said Branislav Jovanovic from Pozarevac. It is slowing down the overall development of the Yugoslav economy and society, so that the LC should devote more attention to the problems of agriculture. [passage omitted]

Lenka Ugrinovski, the delegate from Skopje, spoke of the danger arising from the departures of experts from our country and assessed that in itself it carries special ideological and political consequences. It is clear that it is mostly young people who are leaving, primarily because of wider material opportunities offered abroad, while our society has not enough money to offer them better conditions.

Entire families, Lenka Ugrinovski continued, are moving overseas. The problem is so much more serious since we do not even have information on how many experts are leaving every year. Preparing this session, I have only succeeded in getting a rather unreliable figure according to which more than 2,000 Yugoslavs emigrated to Australia last year.

Because of this, Lenka Ugrinovski concluded, it is necessary for Communists to fully support an appropriate treatment of scientific know-how and creative work, as well as expert work in the economy.

Workers are leaving the LC because they do not feel that it sufficiently represents their interests. One of the reasons is also the fact that in the LCY there is no real unity but only verbal unity, said Stevo Pavlovic from Karlovac.

Tomaz Kalin (Ljubljana) spoke in favor of our country's participation in EFTA, since this is one of the ways for us to be possibly also included in the EUREKA program.

Most of the contribution by Atif Pipic from Bosanski Brod referred to the worsened position of the oil economy to which, as he said, the state owes a great deal of money. The state owes 51 billion dinars to Bosanski Brod refinery alone, of which only 8.3 percent has been paid. At the same time, the fact is that through the price and credit and monetary policy the Federation has in many ways contributed to the worsening of the economic position of the entire group of industries.

Several participants in the discussion—Slavoljub Milutinovic from Varvarin, Milos Antic from Svetozarevo, Marija Bozovic and Zoran Nesic from Velika Plana, spoke about the same problems presently facing agriculture. The most important message was contained in the following words by Marija Bozovic: We in agriculture do not accept the present system of compensation. Rather, we would like to fight for, if we could, equitable relations of economic activity. But if there is no other and better solution, then we expressly demand that really certain sources of compensation funds are established and that their regular payment is ensured. [passage omitted]

Ivan Knok, the delegate from Krizevci, spoke in favor of eliminating all obstacles in the functioning of the delegate system, independence of economic subjects, and market conditions for economic activity. Communists expect, he said, that we should be a party of action, a party according to the measure of a human being.

In the group for socioeconomic relations of the LCY Conference, 82 delegates spoke yesterday and today. The discussion will resume tomorrow morning, since there are still around 15 registered speakers.

Development Group Confers

LD3105095088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0803 GMT 30 May 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 30 May (TANJUG)—Milos Aleksic, (University Conference of the Belgrade LC), who was the first to take part in the discussion today in the Group for the development of the LC, warned especially against the great dangers in the forthcoming radical social changes posed by political and scientific voluntarism. For him, the central question is the change in the LC's method of work, both "from within itself" and also in relation to social development. The LCY Central Committee, Aleksic believes, does not behave as the top party organ should, and unless federalism is overcome and ideological and action unity maintained, factionalism will become the rule of law within the LC. Unless this increasingly conspicuous clash between Marxist theory and social practice is resolved, the LC will disappear from the scene of history.

Aleksic made a polemical reference to the speech yesterday by Sonja Lokar on the relationship between the majority and minority in the LC, expressing the view that she had failed to grasp the dialectics of evolution in this sphere. Legalization of minorities, he believes, would amount to legalizing the factions and a split would be the next step in that direction. Democratic centralism must be preserved in order to avert fragmentation of the Yugoslav community, said Aleksic, drawing attention to the experience which "Carrillo's Spanish Communist Party" had had in this respect.

If someone was viewing us from outside, stressed Radovan Radonjic (a member of the LCY Central Committee), he surely would ask "what the hell is the matter with you?" He would say: "You know what the problem is; you have the power; what are you waiting for, then?" As it is, we were not ready to resolve our problems, expecting someone else to do what is expected of us. Surely, there is no one who is against economic reforms, but there are great differences in understanding market economy. This was the evaluation made by Radonjic, who went on to say that something similar applies to changes in the political system. Everyone is for more democracy, political freedom, and the legal security and unity of Yugoslavia, but in their concepts they persist in putting forward diametrically opposed notions in this regard, as well. [passage omitted]

This LCY Conference, suggested Radonjic, should obligate the LCY Central Committee to put these problems on the agenda as soon as possible because in the final analysis, the LC must be far more aggressive instead of dwelling on the divisions. The LC must put the objectives of the revolution before all others in complying with the LC program. No federalization can produce positive effects. This was the assessment made by Radonjic, who remarked that the LC is not the party of the social distribution of forces, not the party of the nation, but the party of the class. In addition to all this and

without waiting for new meetings and conclusions, he added: The LC must rid itself of hypocrits, the irresponsible, and those who have fallen by the wayside in moral terms. The LC is merely losing its reputation by protecting them. There will be those who will proclaim me to be "apocalyptic," but I am merely trying to be realistic, said Radonjic at the end of his speech, for which he received the applause of the delegates.

Replying to Aleksic and Radonjic, Sonja Lokar (Slovene LC Central Committee) denied that she was in favor of legalizing the minorities as factions. I drew attention to the fact that sometimes even a minority can be right, which history alone is in a position to demonstrate. I am not in favor of diverse roads of socialism in Yugoslavia, she said, but I am in favor of such broadly established joint objectives as will make it possible—for us in Slovenia and Kosovo, for instance—to resolve the same, but in fact very different, issues of social reality.

In Sonja Lokar's assessment, nations and nationalities are not "historic hindrances," and to deny them creates great social problems. How is it that we are so tolerant in our relations with others in the world, she wondered, while we are so mistrustful and narrow-minded toward one another? All those, she said, who truly aspire to a better life should be linked, and there are more of them than we can see.

Danilo Markovic (University Conference of the Belgrade LC replied briefly that all specific features must be respected, but on the condition that the identity of the socioeconomic and political system is thereby not put under a threat.

For Ljubica Taneska (Ohrid), great trouble is caused by the fact that brotherhood and unity have been transformed into a "Dragon with eight heads, in which nationalism is burning brightly." The working class has been placed on the margin of events, and it is forgotten that from Mount Triglav to Gevgelija it is the same working class and has identical interests. We ask for a chamber of associated labor, but they are trying to convince us that we do not need it. The LC, she said in conclusion, must heed the workers' interests and understand that all the attempts to break up the country are alien to them.

The LC cannot effect a democratic breakthrough in our society unless the leadership abolishes the remnants of the personal union with the state organs. This is why we should abandon the practice of joint sessions, so that one knows precisely who is responsible for what, stressed LCY Statute Commission member Jovo Ugrcic. [passage omitted]

The fact is that there are important issues within the LCY on which there is no unity, either in ideology or action, However, we do not have proper discussions about these disagreements. This is why unspecific and ambiguous conclusions are adopted, said Ugrcic.

We may consider the rank-and-file members, the membership at grassroots level, to be the least responsible for the present situation. They are not in a position to act as a party in power. It is the republican and provincial leaderships, the LCY, Central Committee and its Presidium, that occupy these positions, stressed LCY Central Committee member Vinko Hafner.

Speaking of the composition of the LCY Central Committee and of the responsibility of republican and provincial organizations, both for their own development and for Yugoslavia as a whole, Hafner expressed the view that nothing of essence need be changed here. However, the situation is somewhat different as far as the LCY Central Committee Presidium is concerned. Its cadre composition should be changed. This line of action is suggested by the unfavorable effects of the activity of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium.

According to Hafner, special responsibility for the work of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium devolves on the presidents of the republican and provincial party organizations. Apart from the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, they are the people who are virtually the most responsible. Having identified them name by name, Hafner remarked that they are all honorable communists whose contribution is undeniably great, but they are also the culprits for specific shortcomings. They could be biased advocates of their republics and provinces and divide other members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium in the same way.

Slobodanka Gruden, a delegation from Zemun, suggested, first and foremost, that the stands of the conference should not be elaborated on 33 pages but that they should be shorter and clearer. [passage omitted]

For Dobrosav Radovic (provincial committee of the LC of Kosovo) the transformation of the IC is the basic condition for pulling out of the crisis. It is not enough to expound slogans about unity and democratic centralism, he said, but the communists' conduct in solving many social problems has to be clearly defined. Opposing the federalization of the LC, Radovic stressed that "complaining has to be stopped once and for all." It appears, he believes, that we are "a party of sinners" failing to rectify the sins and remove those hindering change from the LC.

When advocating radical cadre changes, starting from the LCY Central committee, Radovic said it was irresponsible that the number of young people attending the LCY Conference is lower in proportion to their LC membership. Radovic suggested that a section in religion be included in the preliminary draft for the stands of the LCY Conference because this has a bearing on ideological-political developments. [passage omitted]

The LCY Central Committee, and particularly its Presidium, of which I am a member, have not succeeded in overcoming many sizable differences, which is the main

reason the decisions of the 13th congress are not being implemented, said Marko Orlandic. He called for large changes in the method of work of these organs, as well as for fundamental renewal of ideology, actions, morality, and cadre in the LC and the leaderships.

The LC must not be a coalition of republican and provincial party organizations. It can survive only as an organization with a unified program and as the unified revolutionary and democratic avant-garde of the Yugoslav working class. Calling for precise stands from the conference, Orlandic said that this meeting must call on the Central Committee and the Presidium to ensure unity, but also to carry out differentiation if the agreed stands are not implemented. Unity must be ensured on the main issues of the development of the economic and political system, the place and role of the LCY, and its democratic renewal.

Without the LC there can be no way out of the crisis, but this cannot be achieved with an LC that is so apathetic, ossified, conservative, and indifferent to change. Changes on the path of democratization of the LC and essential and for this reason we must organize them and give them direction as soon as possible, because if we fail to be spontaneous, various options are opened up, various conflicts and even crises.

Orlandic said that mechanisms must be ensured that will affirm democratic principles and relations in the formulation of stands, and that will ensure optimum conditions for timely decisions and a permanent process of critical checking and comparison between the theory and the practice of building socialism. We should not delude ourselves, because the alternative to the first two stands which after certain explanations can clearly be recognized here as well, is several parties, several policies, and a glorification of differences, which escalates almost to the point of different forms of socialism in our country. From this it is to a big step to establish internal relations within the LC and the Federation and the principles of non-interference and mutual benefit.

This is the prospect that, in essence, is offered by the call for the legalization of the right of the minority, without its responsibility, said Orlandic.

Speaking about the right and responsibility for public speech, Orlandic called for this issue and other dilemmas to be clearly looked at, as he was convinced that certain questions, even if unconsciously, contained a projection for the future where the LCY and the SFRY were organized on a basis different from that of the LCY program and the principles of AVNOJ. [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia]

Orlandic devoted part of his speech to the practice of the 1-year mandate and the fact that in some spheres this is no longer applied. This variation is not good, said Orlandic, and stressed that the reasons for the introduction of the 1-year mandate have been superseded. The 1-year mandate, objectively speaking, acts against ideas, encourages formalism, the loss of identity, and the dilution of responsibility. We will easily satisfy the demands of the various systems of national quotas if we elect expert cadres, people who are prepared consistently to struggle for democratic transformation, for socialist self-management, for a synthesis of class and nation. Orlandic also called for the LCY Central Committee to continue work immediately after the conference, so that the results of the conference will not be diminished or lost sight of. Either the LC stands at the head of an all-people's movement for a way out of the crisis or the mood of the masses will turn against it and its policy, concluded Marko Orlandic.

Vukasin Loncar, a member of the LCY Central Committee, spoke about some aspects of the construction of the LCY's ideological and action unity. The LC has been seized by federalization, and this is eating into its class essence. Both components of democratic centralism are lagging behind equally, and the membership is undervalued. Loncar warned that we must be resolute in the struggle against bureaucratization and also against the wave of social democracy. [passage omitted]

The eighth session of the Serbian LC Central Committee, through the method of its work, proved that there are no individuals who are untouchable and that differentiation is possible in the eyes of the public, stressed Predrag Zivanovic, a delegate from Smederevo. [passage omitted]

Those who see an insistence on ideopolitical unity as creating a danger of monolithic behavior and a return to the past are wrong, said Milan Vakasovic, a delegate of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee.

He supported proposals for secret and direct elections and open lists which would be established at the level of the base, and not in closed groups. He also called for the abolition of the 1-year mandate but said that no one should be guaranteed 4 or 5 years, and called also for cadre renewal to be carried out as soon as possible without upheavals and a conflict between generations. [passage omitted]

The construction of Yugoslav socialist patriotism is, for Vukota Popovic (Yugoslav People's Army), a key precondition for a way out of the crisis. The existing situation, he said, has a negative effect on the fundamental values and the whole defense concept, and particularly on patriotism.

In such a situation, Popovic pointed out, a change of mood has occurred among some young people toward the Army, and also toward the defense of the country. It is increasingly common for it not to be understood or accepted that the right to defend the country is a category in the Constitution, and even for military service to be experienced as something which is an imposition. In the changing composition of the Yugoslav People's Army, he

noted, there are nationalist phenomena, and we are also faced with cases of missing military exercises and attempts to avoid military service at all costs.

Among the so-called "alternative" people who come to do military service, said Popovic, there is no trace of the "Greens", instead "black" ideas dominate. All this bears witness to the fact that the pendulum of ideological orientation of some young people is moving to the right, and the causes for this should be sought in the fact that their consciousness has been formed primarily in accordance with national interests rather than class interests. Obligatory difference from others has become the fundamental principle of our eight education systems, which the national oligarchies make use of to a great extent.

The vast majority of young people support this Yugoslavia just as it is and we should have full confidence in them, stressed Popovic, adding that negative tendencies among some of the youth are not a product of genetic inheritance but rather of social inheritance. For this reason, in his opinion, the way out should be sought primarily in comprehensive social action which will affirm all that we have in common and all that draws us closer together. Now it is essential to strengthen everything which has a class rather than a national character, said Popovic, noting that the struggle for a way out of the crisis is, above all, a patriotic act.

[Transmission interrupted, TANJUG parts 11 and 12 not received] The LC needs a good program and as many friends as possible. We should turn toward them and not spend so much energy on enemies. We are unpleasantly militant, noted Matjaz Kmecl.

Why are we afraid of different opinions? We pronounce delegations of writers to be enemies and some even pronounce foreign creditors as enemies because they now dictate to us the conditions we accepted when we indebted ourselves. It is a pity for the LC to have so many enemies and so few friends to speak of.

We are considerably distrustful of intellectuals and we know that modern society is based mainly on intellectual production. Knowledge is the most important thing for economic restructuring. However, this potential is used minimally by us, Kmecl said, adding that the LC after the war made a fateful error. It set aside many intellectuals as dissidents because they did not speak in line with someone's preference. If we are complaining that we remain silent in terms of theory, that we do not respond as we should to attacks, then we must bear in mind that we have cast many people aside who would have been capable of these things. Pero Skrlin, on behalf of the responsible commission, spoke about party membership fees and their collection and spending. He cited the fact that some 96 percent of the membership regularly pays its membership fees, which make up over 92 percent of the overall income of the LCY

Skrlin spoke about the rationalization on savings and noted that it is being implemented unequally. [passage omitted]

The party membership of Novi Beograd stressed Dimitrije Kocovic, one of the two oldest participants in the LCY Conference, considers this meeting to be a historical one and calls for a discussion on the situation in Kosovo, one of the strategic issues for Yugoslavia.

I was a participant in the defeat of the first counterrevolution in Kosovo in 1944-45, he said, adding that there is no doubt that certain results were achieved to improve the current situation in the province, and that the new Province, and that the new Pristina LC Municipal Committee set an example for other leaderships in the province as to how they should work. However, there is no doubt that the LC and state organs are not sufficiently effective and that counterrevolution continues. The sum total of the Kosovo crisis is still the idea of Albanian nationalists and separatists about belonging to Albania, said Kocovic, making the assessment that it is essential that there be a discussion on the responsibility of the LCY CC, its Presidium, and the SFRY Presidency. According to him, it is necessary to answer the question why the plaforms on Kosovo, and the resolutions of the 13th LCY CC, its Presidium, and the SFRY Presidency. According to him, it is necessary to answer the question why the plaforms on Kosovo, and the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress on Kosovo, the conclusions of the LCY CC Presidium and the Presidency on the situation in the province were not implemented, and why the conclusions of the 9th LCY session were being inconsistently implemented.

Kocovic made the assessment that the book by Branko Horvat "The Kosovo Question" represents the tip of the iceberg of involvement for the destabilisation of Tito's Yugoslavia. Turning to the petition with 50,000 signatures by Serbs and Montenegrins, recently sent to the country's highest state and party organs, Kocovic said this is a question of a "a call from martyrs and patriots," which we should note and which should serve as a warning. Behind it stands 1,200 participants in the national liberation war from Kosovo living in Belgrade.

Kocovic also expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that the organizers of the 1968 and 1981 counterrevolutions in Kosovo had not yet faced the charges of criminal responsibility, nor had the separatists from the so-called "Djakovica Group." In addition to this, he said, Milos Bakic, federal republic prosecutor, had been named many times in the SFRY Assembly because of the situation in Kosovo, whereas Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs Dobroslav Culafic had never been mentioned, although his direct authority in this respect was incomparably greater. Kocovic asked who had extended his mandate and in reward for what services.

Kocovic saw the Kosovo party leadership as being the greatest responsibility for the situation in Kosovo. Mentioning in this context Kolj Siroka, Sinan Hasani, and Azem Vlasi, he pointed out that nobody had called them to account for their failures. The LC has no right to reward anybody for failures, said Kocovic, saying that in the forthcoming changes to the Constitution, Serbia should be placed in an equal position to that of the other republics. The LCY Conference should take a clear position on this also, he said, and Serbia does not need any guardians. There can be no retreating over this, he stressed, and any form of compromise or settlement at the expense of Serbia's equality is unacceptable. Kocovic considered that the concept of the Federation with eight federal units was unacceptable, saying that there should be six, which according to him was in keeping with the decisions of AVNOJ.

The LCY Conference, according to Kocovic, must take a clear position, too, on the responsibility of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium for not having implemented the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress. The Central Committee and Presidium had the duty, via the Republican and Provincial LC Committees, to ensure the implementation of those resolutions, and since they did not do this, they did not carry out the party's task. The greatest responsibility for this, in Kocovic's opinion, was borne by the Presidents of the LCY Central Committee Presidiums in the period following the 13th congress, Milanko Renovica and Bosko Krunic.

It is unacceptable to get out of the crisis using whatever means, as in the Chinese proverb that is heard increasingly often: "It does not matter what color the cat is, as long as it catches mice," said Milovan Sogorov, president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee. We must know clearly which path we are following, what are our aims, who are the proponents, with the clear orientation for the development of socialist self-managing relations.

Sogorov said that whenever society found itself in difficulties there was an increase of those forces that saw a way out of them in the strengthening of state prerogatives. Calling for opposition to such tendencies, he said that the strengthening of etatism was a blow both the class and the national interests of associated labor. We must also oppose the technocratic options that tend toward divesting the workers of power and turning them into hired labor.

He supported the part of the proposed stands on the reform of the economic system and constitutional changes. In this context, he made the assessment that calls made in connection with the constitutional changes that went beyond the basis established at the 13th congress were unacceptable. There were often attempts to impose these calls through deep divisions that will never be overcome if action is taken from a position of power. In this connection, he stressed that he could not accept the views of the previous speaker. [passage omitted]

Melihata Trinkoli (Pristina) spoke about the socioeconomic position of young people in Kosovo, saying, among other things, that young people had not lost confidence in the LC. [passage omitted]

The greatest responsibility for the current situation was seen by Radovan Pekovic (Belgrade Vozdovac municipality) as being held by the LCY Central Committee, its Presidium, and the Statutory Commission of the LCY. Has it ever happened, he asked, that the Statutory Commission, citing the clear regulations of the statute, has named the Central Committee for behaving in an unstatutory way? Responsibility is also borne, he said, by republican and provincial LC committees, and so changes should be made here. One of the ways of making these changes, Pekovic said, is for delegates of the conference, through firm stances, to oblige the LCY Central Committee to carry out differentiation. This would enable the LC to "leave the 20th Century with a clear conscience." Otherwise an extraordinary congress is essential, and no committee will be able to refuse it.

Stressing that calls for looking into the origins of property owned by leaders does not mean a witch-hunt, Pekovic said that associated labor should thank all those who have been unsuccessfully "defending" it stubbornly for so long.

Pekovic also spoke of the recent display in connection with Youth Day at the stadium of the Yugoslav People's Army, which he assessed as a "magnificent disgrace."

One of the main reasons for the blockade that we are encountering, considered Petar Radakovic (municipality of Rakovica in Belgrade), lies with the leaderships, primarily with the Presidium and Central Committee of the LCY. [passage ommitted]

Radakovic assessed that the eighth session of the Serbian LC Central Committee represented the best example of how to achieve unity. He also considered that the mthod of electing the LCY Central Committee Presidium should be changed, and the existing quota system should be abandoned, a system that enables untested and anonymous people to reach high positions. His proposal was that the president of the Central Committee should be elected with a mandate of 2 years. [passage omitted]

Erika Malesedic (Subotica) warned that verbosity evidently is not giving the desired effect and that the membership can no longer live in expectation of change. The League of Communists has turned into the League of Analysis and not action, with conservative forces persistently hindering creative ones. Talk of unity, she said, makes sense primarily when it concerns the LC's relationship toward social reality. [passage omitted]

Thoughts about the relationship between the majority and the minority, as an inescapable part of the process of decisionmaking, cannot immediately be pronounced as attempts at fragmentation, Franc Setinc said.

Do young people have to tell us that we have become ossified? We must ourselves bravely begin the transformation of the LC, just as in 1948 we began the transformation of socialism. Recalling the Sixth Congress, at which the name of the party was changed to the League of Communists, Setinc said that in implementing the ideas that brought about the change we stopped halfway. Warning that "unity without variations leads to barracks socialism," he stressed that the actions of communists cannot be the action of robots who do not think for themselves.

True unity can only be reached democratically. Only bureaucracy is afraid of differences, Setinc said.

Dusko Ilic, a delegate from the Serbian LC Central Committee immediately replied, opposing what he called the labeling of those who said how they viewed the stances on the relationship between the majority and the minority that the Slovene delegates put forward in this group. If someone opposes this, he cannot be condemned; while at the same time, it is maintained that this is not an example of fragmentation. I am in favor of honest relations. We must see whether or not this is in keeping with the program and the statute of the LCY. If not, and the Slovene LC stands behind it, it should seek a change in those documents. We should not be trying to persuade each other in this way, Ilic said. [passage omitted]

Although I used not to think like that, now I have joined those who have no trust in the LCY leadership, who say that those who brought us into the crisis cannot get us out of it. I am also joining them in calling for an extraordinary congress, Belgrade delegate Drago Ivanovic said.

From the opening speech and later discussions by members of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, I did not hear how they are working, or what sort of unity there is among them. From Comrade Gacic on television I learned that there is unity in the Presidium, and today I hear that there are great problems there. That means, if Gacic says that unity exists, then I can only think that this means the unity of compromise, of maintaining a status quo. They should be called to account, and be made to say something about their powerlessness, Ivanovic said.

Since they say nothing, either, about the struggle against privileges, villas, and cars, then I can only believe that they do not wish to give up a single car or anything else. I was ashamed today and yesterday, looking at the parade of limousines as if this were a session of the European Community assembly. [passage omitted]

Citing the example of the chemical combine in Kutina, Ana Mamula sought to show how state intervention could lead to the breakdown of a whole branch of industry, and that workers are not in a position to change anything however much they try.

Ana Mamula called for the LCY Central Committee after the conference to pass a plan for implementing the stances, with time limits, and to establish the specific responsibility of each member for not carrying out what was agreed. [passage omitted] It is rather strange, Momcilo Milovanovic (Valjevo) said, that at a time when constitutional decisions and regulations in the law in associated labor are being reexamined little is said about changes to the party statute. Also, there are indications that the LCY program could be made more up to date. Bearing this in mind, Milovanovic proposed that there should be a serious analysis of to what extent certain statutory regulations hinder necessary party action. This means a great accent on action-orientated and not territorial links between LC organizations in the republics and provinces, as well as precisely defining their relationship to the LCY Central Committee.

Milovanovic also suggested a reexamination of the electoral procedures in the LC, as well as the length of the mandates and called for a simplification of the procedure for replacing or recalling people. The LCY Conference, he said, should clearly express a decision in favor of the consistent involvement of the LCY within the SAWP, because the basic party slogan could not be "He who is not with us is against us" but should be "all those who are not against the LC are its fellow fighters." [passage omitted]

For how long will the patience of the people and the party rank and file be taken advantage of, Franjo Butorac (Rijeka) asked. For 7 years now they have stoically borne the crisis that we all have discussed at length but have not done anything about. If it is true that not much is expected from the conference, what right do we have to deceive ourselves and others here in Belgrade? It seems that the political leadership has no will to change the situation. What kind of report on the conference's work will the delegates submit to their basic organizations?

Does the LCY exist any more, or has it been transformed into a sum total of the republican and provincial LC organizations? The rift between the party leadership and the rank and file should not be talked about as something likely to happen in future, as Bosko Krunic, the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, did in his report. This rift is already there, Butorac said. He pointed out that the relationship between the majority and minority should be viewed through the relationship between the leadership and the members. The membership is the majority and the leaders are the minority. This is the issue that should be discussed. [passage omitted]

Speaking about economic reform, Butorac stressed that the people need no social programs or charities. The economic reform should make it possible to make honest money by honest work.

Ending his discussion, Butorac noted that the LC is increasingly being transformed from the vanguard of the working class into a conservative obstacle to changes and, as such, a proponent of counterrevolution. [passage omitted]

Can the federalization be explained by criticizing the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium alone? Who are the people occupying positions in these bodies, Svetislav Stojakov, delegate of the Serbian LC Central Committee, asked. They are the very same people who are in the republican and provincial committees. There they have, however, never been criticized. Does not this lead one to a conclusion that the federalization of the LC is encouraged from other centers and environments?

The republican and provincial party leaderships have been spared criticism. Only the LC leadership at the federal level has been the butt of criticism. What is more, at the conferences that preceded this one, many in the republican and party leadeships were given a positive assessment of their work. It seems that we are all expecting the standpoints of our own central or provincial committee to become valid for and accepted by the entire LCY.

The republican and provincial committees generate more elements of federalization in the LCY Central Committee than the LCY Central Committee itself, which has been into a position where it simply mirrors what is happening elsewhere. However, I do not want to say that the LCY Central Committee is not partly to blame for the situation. At this conference I have yet to hear delegates criticizing their own leadership and situation in their own environment, Stojakov noted. [passage omitted]

We have gathered here primarily to safeguard the reputation of both Yugoslavia and the LCY and to restore the undermined confidence, Radosav Neskovic (Zemun) emphasized. He spoke about cadre changes, noting that the issue is to be resolved by the extraordinary congress. Neskovic went on to say that the eighth session of the Serbian LC Central Committee made a great contribution to enhancing the unity of the LCY. [passage omitted]

Boris Sovic (Maribor) began his contribution to the debate by commenting on the introductory report by the LCY Central Committee Presidium President Bosko Krunic, and especially that section that calls on journalists to show professionalism, openness in their work, and moral standards. Should these features not be required from all other working people, particularly those occupying leading positions? he asked. Sovic went on to criticize the standpoints of the conference for being too generalized, saying that they are more suitable to be used as archive material than a document for social action. The membership should therefore be given an opportunity in future to consider proposed documents for large party gatherings. In many places the standpoints refer to what we oppose and in a very small number to what we favor, Sovic stressed, and went on to criticize the fact that the document made no mention of ecological problems or human rights. Sovic called for the party to be separated from the state and asked the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium in future to refrain from holding joint sessions. In addition, according to him, the LC should not waste time looking for an enemy but must concentrate on providing a program of development. In reference to calls for an extraordinary congress, Sovic opposed the "logic of upheavals and coups."

Communists in the federal organs and organizations are of the view that the LC action is being thwarted by the leaderships from where the efforts to resolve the present situation should proceed, Dragi Vodijevic said. He called for differentiation in the LCY Central Committee. He stressed that we did not need people who had lost reputation and damaged their moral image.

The Communists in the Federation give full support to and ask the Central Committee regularly to monitor the implementation of the declared policy and the work of the republican and provincial party leaderships. We also want changes to be carried out in the LCY statute that will enable us at the 14th congress to elect the Central Committee by direct vote. [passage omitted]

Tomorrow, the Central Committee should not go home, but instead it should stay here and complete its work, said Aleksandar Parezanovic from the Belgrade municipality of Vracar. This is what not only Communists but all citizens expect it to do. The calls coming from the rank and file of the party insist that the action can no longer be postponed.

Parezanovic also stressed that the party would not overcome differences in interests for as long as there are Red billionaires and a Red proletariat. I hail those who have made their money through honest work. The party card should not however be used as a means of accumulating wealth. Ending his discussion, he noted the message on the party card: "Workers of the world unite," and asked who gave individuals in society the right to destroy Yugoslavia's working class.

The last to take part in today's discussion in the group for the development of the LC, Djordi Spasov, warned of the dangers posed by the rumors about the alleged preparations of a military coup in Slovenia. These rumors represent an attack on Slovenia's democratic achievements. Those who are spreading them want to imply that Slovenia's fate may be similar to those of some of the East European countries. In his view, there has not been enough effort to deny such rumors.

During yesterday's and today's proceedings in this group, 93 delegates asked to speak, and 10 submitted written contributions. The group will resume its work tomorrow.

Further Reportage on 3d Day of LCY Conference

Discussion Groups End Meetings

AU3105145088 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 31 May 88

[Text] At the LCY Conference, the discussion ended 1 hour ago. The delegates now have a break until 1730 [1530 GMT] when work will continue in a plenary session.

The delegates in the socioeconomic group, where more than 200 participants spoke, took the longest. It is not yet known how many spoke in the discussion in all, because the data is still being sorted out. One thing is certain: There were more than expected. Almost 400 delegates and guests appeared at the rostrum in these 3 days.

The plenary session will begin in less than 1 hour. The proposed stances of the conference, which will be subjected to amendments, suggestions, and remarks, will be explained by Ivan Brigic. Ljubo Varoslija will inform the participants about the complaints and petitions sent to the conference.

We learned this at a press briefing that lasted some 10 minutes and has just concluded.

The closing speech will be made by Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Groups Criticize Leadership

LD3105173788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1518 GMT 31 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, May 31 (TANJUG)—In all three groups of the first conference of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY)—the groups for the development of the League of Communists, for socio-political relations and for the political system—the discussions held today, the last day of the three-day conference, were characterized by sharp political tones, predominantly criticism addressed to the highest party leadership—the Central Committee and its Presidency.

Over 350 delegates have taken the floor at the first conference of the two million Yugoslav Communists. The conference, in which over 800 delegates are taking part, is to end work this evening with a plenary session, at which it is to adopt positions on the strengthening of the ideological-political unity and responsibility of the League of Communists in the solution of the socio-economic crisis in the country.

LCY Central Committee member Ugljesa Uzelac called on the Central Committee to step down should it prove unable to carry out the positions adopted by the conference.

LCY Presidency member Vasil Tupurkovski, for his part, underscored the LCY Presidency's great responsibility for the existing situation in society. He said that the Presidency had failed to put an end to the federalization of the LCY and to the mounting nationalism, especially in the province of Kosovo, and that it was, therefore, necessary to review the responsibility of each individual member of the collective party leadership.

Critically reviewing the role of the party, President of the Yugoslav Trade Unions Zvonimir Hrabar wondered had not the LCY become the "vanguard" of the administration employees, since workers have in increasing numbers been abandoning its ranks. Hrabar urged that an investigation be conducted into the squandering of public funds, into how the privileged have misused credits and, especially, into what is true of what the press has been reporting about the flats and the summer homes, one on the coast and one in the mountains, of Milanko Cevica, Presidency president until a year ago.

A number of delegates explicitly requested that legal prerequisites be created for confiscating all the illegally gained property.

Differing opinions were heard again today about whether a special LCY congress needed to be convened, on which the delegates of the League of Communists of Serbia, the largest party organization, have especially been insisting.

LC of Serbia delegate Drasko Milicevic, for instance, said that a special LCY congress was necessary so that the current leadership "would be replaced and a chance given to others." Belgrade party organization Secretary Borislav Kuzmanovic said that the greatest responsibility rested with the highest party leadership. Delegate of the LC of Montenegro Danilo Vuksanovic stated the opinion that a special party congress would have to be organized "unless the stands adopted by the LCY Conference are not translated into practice and a detailed concept of economic reform adopted by the end of the year."

League of Communists of Croatia Central Committee Secretary Dragutin Dimitrovic noted, however, that responsibility for economic and constitutional changes lies mainly on the Assembly of Yugoslavia and government and that "only after they fall" can a special party congress be considered.

Vilma Mancek (Slovenia) was explicitly against a special congress because the gathering would "again discuss well-known topics, which would be a waste of time and money," while Vlado Puljiz (Croatia) said that "if the request for a special party congress is motivated by a

radical cadre renewal, we are able to regularly dismiss individuals who obstruct development without organising exhausting and expensive spectacles before the public."

Ali Sabani and Stevo Grubjesic (LCY Central Committee delegates) also opposed the requests for convening a special congress. Grubjesic pointed out that the request to complete changes in the economic and political system by year's end were unrealistic.

A special congress was also opposed by Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia President Hrabar who said "We have too many congresses as it is—we need action".

The relation between the majority and minority in the LCY was also discussed today.

In response to some comments made yesterday, LCY Presidency member Franc Setinc said that no-one had really contradicted his concept of democratic centralism and noted that this principle was in no way "a means for disciplining" party members. The right of the minority is not factionalism, but can be characterized as such only if someone invokes the support of the majority without previously giving it a chance to voice its opinion on the matter.

Vilko Zgajner and Slovenia stressed that the conservative majority must not be allowed to outvote the progressive minority, while Venad Kecmanovic of Bosnia-Hercegovina spoke of the position of a particular kind of minority—individuals who found themselves isolated in opposing various "violations and thefts" and who were mercilessly silenced for this. The LCY, Kecmanovic said, "owes these people protection, and for this reason must introduce political rehabilitation because there is no democracy without it."

Slovene Coup Rumors Discussed

LD3105213388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2006 GMT 31 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, May 31 (TANJUG)—Rumours of alleged preparations for a military coup in the Republic of Slovenia last March are absolutely groundless and represent a political intrigue, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Presidency stated today at the first LCY Conference in answer to an open letter a group of 22 party members from Slovenia addressed to the conference.

Directly before the conference the innermost party leadership discussed the open letter from a group of Slovenian Communists.

The Presidency of Yugoslavia recently qualified similarly the rumours on the alleged preparations for a military coup in the highest developed Yugoslav republic.

In the letter, the group of 22 signatories demands, among other things, that the LCY Central Committee, together with the conference, explain stories that have been spreading lately in Slovenia that at the LCY Central Committee session, allegedly held on March 29, 1988, preparations for arrests were discussed, as well as measures to prevent protests which, according to assessments, would allow the arrests in Slovenia. Allegedly, in keeping with the instructions issued by the Military Council at the Federal Secretariat of National Defence (which was in session on March 25 this year), the commander of the Ljubljana Army Area was obliged to test in contacts with leading officials of the Slovenian Internal Affairs Secretariat the extent of the Slovenian authorities' ability to control the situation.

If it is proved that these stories are founded, the gravest violation of the citizens' rights in Slovenia would be involved, as well as the violation of the existing constitutional order in Yugoslavia as a whole, it is stated in the letter whose signatories demand that the shorthand report taken at the alleged LCY Central Committee session be published. If this is not done several signatories threaten to bring into question their further membership in the party.

In a part of the Slovenian press, particularly the youth paper MLADINA, attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army and the Yugoslav system of all-people' defence have increased of late. However, these attacks have been strongly condemned by top party and state leaderships of Yugoslavia and the country's broadest public.

Varoslija Reports on Petitions

AU3105175488 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1603 GMT 31 May 88

[Speech by Ljubomir Varoslija, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the plenary session of the LCY Conference—live]

[Text] Comrades: LC members, working people, and citizens, basic LC organizations, self-managing organs, working collectives, and other organizations and institutions have sent 247 petitions to the LCY Conference. During the conference session, 47 petitions were received, and 200 petitions arrived before the beginning of the conference.

Out of the total, 11 are appeals against ideopolitical disciplinary measures, and they chiefly refer to expulsions from the LCY.

A large number of petitions indicate shortcomings in the work of the LC organizations and organs, the place and role of the LC in society, and requests that we solve the accumulated problems more quickly and efficiently in accordance with our historical responsibility. Almost all

the petitions express the conviction that without an ideopolitically united LC that is fit for action, there can be no decisive turn and improvement in the overall situation in the country.

Therefore it is requested that the LC, and especially its leaderships, carry out an ideopolitical and working differentiation in its ranks and get rid of all those who are members for the sake of satisfying their personal ambition and narrow interests. The petitions point out that this would be one of the essential conditions for the LC to consistently implement its revolutionary role in the further development of the socialist self-managing progressive relations. In this connection, it is very important to discover the real reasons that led to the present difficulties and to cut the ties of our ideological confusion and blockage.

Some people believe that since the 13th LCY Congress, there have been no initial results that would encourage working people and citizens in the struggle for a quicker way out of the crisis. Many are critical about the text of the theses in preparation for this conference, saying that the theses present the situation in a generalized way. This situation, some unidentified person or persons should, in quotes, or must, in quotes, change. They therefore request of the conference that its stances be specific and revolutionary, and that the executor and deadline be specified in every stance.

In the opinion of many of the petitioners, this can be achieved only through a consistent implementation of the changes in the LC itself, primarily with a democratization of the cadre policy along the line of enhancing the class premises, without which it is impossible to implement the changes that we decided for in our socioeconomic development.

The petitions particularly insist on the responsibility of the Communists in the LC leaderships, stressing that their working and moral qualities should be the foundation on which trust in the LC will be further built.

A number of petitions present suggestions and proposals in connection with the forthcoming constitutional changes and express the conviction that the LC will struggle for constitutional provisions that will make possible a much greater level of unity in the country and will affirm its basic values, especially brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities.

In the opinion of a number of petitioners, the forthcoming constitutional changes should ensure the SR of Serbia to have the status of a state enjoyed by our other republics.

Several petitions point out disturbed intranational relations and occurrences of nationalism, in connection with which they mention most specifically and most frequently the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo under the pressure of Albanian nationalists and separatists, and warn against the consequences and dangers to the security and stability of the entire country.

A collective petition signed by over 50,000 citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality for the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, addressed to the SFRY Assembly, the Assembly of the SR of Serbia, the LCY Central Committee, and the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, particularly draws attention to these problems and asks appropriate organs to take urgent measures. I will say that the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the LCY Central Committee, on the basis of the conclusions of the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee on Kosovo, will discuss their implementation in June. Other organs in the Federation that follow the implementation of the Yugoslav program for checking the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, a quicker return of those who emigrated, and the arrival of those who wish to live and work in Kosovo, will take appropriate measures for the most consistent implementation of the conclusions of the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee.

Of course it is not necessary to especially point out that all the LC organs are charged with and responsible for the implementation of the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee, because the return of trust among nationalities and the checking of the Serbian and Montenegrin emigration from Kosovo is one of the biggest and most indispensable tasks facing the LCY and our entire society.

On the eve of the LCY Conference, the LCY Central Committee Presidium had a conversation with a group of citizens, LC members, from the Klina commune. They were interested in knowing the LCY Central Committee Presidium stand on the request by a gathering of Communists and citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality that their representative at the conference should be an ethnic Serbian or Montenegrin rather than the ethnic Albanian delegate who had been elected.

They were told on that occasion that the delegate was elected on the basis of the set procedure, and that accepting their request would create a precedent unbecoming the work of the LCY.

The LCY Conference was sent an open letter by a group of 22 signatories from Slovenia. The letter requests among other things that, I quote, the LCY Central Committee together with the conference should explain the recent rumors circulating in Slovenia to the effect that the LCY Central Committee Presidium at a session allegedly held on 29 March 1988 discussed preparations for arrests and for preventing demonstrations one would expected to occur after these arrests in the SR of Slovenia; end quote.

Allegedly, I quote, under instructions by the Military Council of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, which met on 25 March this year, the commander of the Ljubljana Army Region was obligated to check, through contacts with the leading workers of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Slovenia, to what extent the Slovene authorities were able to keep the situation under control in such a case; end quote. This is said in the letter, which goes on to say that, I quote, if there is the least foundation for these rumors, it would mean a most serious violation of the citizens' rights in Slovenia and a violation of the existing constitutional system of the SFRY in general; end quote.

The signatories of the letter therefore request that the shorthand notes of the said session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium be published. Unless this is done and the possible justification for the allegations contained in the letter is explained, some of the signatories will consider the question of whether or not they will continue to remain LC members.

I would like to make some remarks in this connection. The LCY Central Committee Presidium on several occasions in the past few months discussed and evaluated current ideopolitical questions connected with the increasingly crude attacks on the concept of all-people's defense and the Yugoslav People's Army and informed the respective organs and the public about this through reports on its sessions. The LCY Central Committee Presidium at a session held on 12 April 1988 adopted a document, The Assessments and Stances of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on the Ideopolitical Essence and Nature of the Attacks on the All-People's Defense Concept and the Yugoslav People's Army and the LC Tasks.

The document sets down the assessments of the ideopolitical essence, aims, and possible consequences of attacks on the all-people's defense concept and the Yugoslav People's Army, and the direct LC tasks in unmasking and preventing them. The implementation of these Presidium stances, as it was stressed at the time, should contribute to a further intensification of the ideopolitical action of the LC in realizing the decisions of the 13th LCY Congress and to resistance against intensified attacks by anti-socialist and anti-self-managing forces on the fundamental achievements of the revolution and social values, and within this, on the defense system and the Yugoslav People's Army.

It was therefore concluded that the central and provincial LC committees, as well as those LC organization in institutions that particularly deal with all-people's defense question, should be acquainted with the assessments and stances.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium at its session held just before the beginning of our conference pointed out, in connection with this letter, that those rumors were without any foundation whatsoever and that they constitute a political intrigue. In this sense, the Presidium fully supports the assessments and stances of the SFRY Presidency in connection with this letter, expressed in the statement for the public published on 26 May this year.

In conclusion, all the petitions sent to the conference have been (?dealt with) in special publications. Brief summaries of the allegations in the petitions have been made and [words indistinct] submitted to the working group preparing the stances of the LCY Conference and to the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

When formulating the final wording of the LCY Conference Stances, the working group bore in mind the views, suggestions, and proposals made in the petitions. The petitions that refer to personal questions will be referred to the LCY Central Committee Presidium for Petitions, Requests, and Complaints. All those who submitted petitions will be informed about the results in due time.

Thank you. [no applause follows this speech]

Brigic Discusses Proposals

AU3105212988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1616 GMT 31 May 88

[Speech by Ivan Brigic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the second plenary session of the LCY Conference held in the Sava Center in Belgrade on 31 May—live]

[Text] Comrades: As the chairman said, we have just finished our work and, on behalf of the working group, I apologize for certain inexact details in the text of the proposed stances and probably also in the report that I am now reading.

In the proposed stances that you have received, the working group tried to express the essence of the discussions in the conference. During its 3 days of work, 353 delegates participated in the discussions and 78 delegates proposed themes for discussion.

Numerous specific initiatives and proposals were put forward on strengthening the leading political role, unity, and responsibility of the LC for a quicker and more determined sweeping away of the causes and consequences of the socioeconomic crisis and the opening up of prospects for a more stable and quicker development of our self-managing community. It is up to you to judge whether or not we have successfully and correctly carried out the task entrusted to us.

The discussion at the conference, like the one which preceded it in the LC organizations and organs, confirmed, along with all the criticism contained in it, that the LC is capable of seeking and finding ways out of the crisis. The level of agreement over the directions for a way out of the crisis was high. There was the unanimous

view that it is essential to implement basic changes in the economic and political system and to carry out a democratic transformation of the LC.

The delegates expressed the conviction that we have no small financial and creative potential for taking this serious step and making these far-reaching moves. More unity, determination, creative and responsible work, and an uncompromising break with the practice of pondering and hesitation are sought.

The view was strongly expressed that the way out of the crisis also equally depends on the depth of social changes and on the ability of the LC to face the truth about itself, to free itself of ideological prejudice and a dogmatic notion of socialism. The stagnation of many years has already created processes that destroy society from within and threaten socialist self-managing orientation.

In our opinion, the stances offer the ideopolitical basis for a determined elimination of these tendencies and the action of the LC membership and all progressive forces. This will certainly not be enough if we do not provide the widest support for working people through organized and consistent political work, and if we are not successful in meeting the demand that all organizations and institutions in the system carry out their task with much more independence and initiative, and bear their share of responsibility.

The conference critically assessed that, in practice so far, a huge amount of social energy has been wasted on discussion about the different possibilities of development. Discussion on different ideas about the transformation of social relationships went on for too long, particularly in the leaderships of the LC, instead of them actually and more quickly changing their practice on the basis of the stances of the 13th congress.

It was uncompromisingly stressed in the discussion that the only alternative to social development is deep-rooted social and economic reform that opens the way for a more stable economic development of Yugoslavia, opened toward the world and contemporary developmental trends, and develops a new quality of socialist self-managing democracy. The delegates were united in the view that we cannot be led into the developed world by an economy that does not change its existing structure, does not carry out deep-rooted changes in production in line with the demands of the technological process, and which therefore has no chance, because of today's circumstances of excessive unproductive consumption and the low financial basis of self-management.

The basis of such changes lies in the freeing of creative initiative and in the activation and creation of the potential of, above all, the knowledge, ability, and creativity of our people.

The sharpest criticisms were in fact directed at those solutions of economic policy and economic relations that make possible statist trends and the redistribution of incomes. There were critical words about the excessive taxation of incomes, the weakening of the financial position of associated labor and social activity, and abnormally high, irrational, and unproductive abilities.

There is great dissatisfaction with our impotence in overcoming and reducing inflation. We built a clear ideological position in the proposed stances: that negation or hesitation in implementing the market and commodity production would only continue to strengthen subjectivism, voluntarism, and statism, enhance the tendencies of subordinating the working man to the rule of the bureaucracy, and ultimately lead us into an even deeper and more serious crisis.

The conference is resolutely in favor of implementing the orientation toward the independence of economic subjects in conducting economic policy (?along the line) of the strategic development of society, in favor of economy and rationality in using labor and social capital, and of the planned, self-managing direction of social reproduction flows.

It is a unanimous view that one should stop statist, bureaucratic, and voluntarist interference in associated labor, business policy, adoption of investment decisions, distribution of income, and the conduct of cadre policy. The stance has been proposed that social property must have its value and price for the management that takes the right but also shoulders the responsibility for its efficient use.

The conference thus advocates that, within the economic reform and on the basis of market valuation, institutional prerequisites be created for a more efficient use and enlargement of social property as a dominant property relationship on which socialist self-managing production relationship and the power of the workers class are based. At the same time, the delegates demanded that administrative resistance should be resolutely broken and that a dogmatic approach toward cooperative, private, and other forms of ownership be rejected.

It was pointed out that without setting up a single Yugoslav market there is no chance for emerging from the crisis quickly and for opening toward the world, but it was stressed that for a more efficient functioning and realization of a single Yugoslav market, changes are also necessary in the system of planning and in enhancing the market efficiency.

The working group proposed to the conference that, along with the work on constitutional changes, changes should be prepared in the economic system, and that these changes should be adopted by the end of 1988 in

order to ensure that the provisions on the system should function in practice at the beginning 1989, and that the economic factors will know the conditions for their operations.

The delegates warned that a great danger for the reform undertakings in general lies in the restrictive material conditions of a large portion of the workers class and the population, and that this is a cause of increasing social tensions and conflicts even now. The conference therefore demands—I think that this is not sufficiently stressed in the stances—that a comprehensive social policy should be adopted as soon as possible by all the institutions of the system that bear the responsibility for it; that this social policy be an element of development and economic policy; and that ways and means of social protection be found for those who will be hardest hit by the economic reform; and, above all, that the problems of reemployment of those who will lose their jobs should be solved.

The discussion underlined the problem of the situation of the agricultural industrial complex and of private agricultural production, and it was pointed out that the conclusions of the eighth session of the LCY Central Committee were not being carried out. The delegates advocate that agriculture should have conditions of business operation that are equal to those of other production spheres, and that in this way the growth of agricultural accumulation and reproduction ability should be ensured.

It was also demanded that social activities, especially science and education, should have the same socioeconomic position as material production has.

The delegates especially demanded that the reforms should not be abandoned under the pressure of existing difficulties and that one should not return to the old methods and relations. They therefore demanded that the greatest responsibility be displayed by the LCY Central Committee, by the highest LC leaderships of the republics and provinces, and by the Communists in the most responsible duties in the institutions of the system.

The conference strongly stressed—we propose in the stances—the need for thorough changes and reforms in the political system, so that it may become more deeply democratic and may be freed from excessive normativism and institutionalism, and from the bureaucratic statist tendencies arising therefrom. It is an unequivocal stance that the reform must not be just economic, but must be social, which is to say comprehensive. This was marked as the most important condition for getting out of the crisis.

The constitutional changes must contribute, as we have stressed, to strengthening the unity, integrity, and stability of the Yugoslav socialist self-managing community on the foundations of full national equality, brotherhood, and unity of the peoples and nationalities, and to much greater responsibility of the republics and provinces not only for their own development but also for the development, of the country as a whole.

This is the precondition for making an essential turnabout and a shift in decisionmaking from the centers of political and economic power to the workers class and associated labor, for preventing barriers and divisions, and for combating all forms in which statism appears. Therefore, we proposed stances on the indispensability of the most efficient work possible on the constitutional changes and the adoption of these changes by the envisaged deadline, without any delay.

Almost all the most important questions of changes in the economic system were thoroughly discussed in the discussion. It was resolutely demanded that the self-managing organization of associated labor should be freed from crude, uniform organizational structures, so that the full respect for the market laws, the real power of the self-managers, the independence and responsibility of the associated labor organization in economic and social relations, and the equality of people in the process of work and business operations may be ensured.

As the majority of the delegates said at the conference, this will introduce a new, fresh force in the development of socialist self-managing production relationships, and will contribute to the initiative and mobilization of all the material and spiritual forces and potentials of our society.

Advocating a further strengthening of democracy in our society, in which the pluralism of self-managing interests will be manifested in a democratic way and their synthesis will be creatively realized, the delegates especially pointed out the need for a more real affirmation of the SAWP as the place where the authentic interests and needs of the working people and citizens are expressed, and where their various initiatives meet and receive a self-managing synthesis.

It was demanded that the SAWP should open up even more toward the various initiatives and constructive proposals, along with the necessary tolerance and equal dialogue, along with a democratic confrontation and linkage of the pluralism and the whole of the self-managing interests of the workers class, working people, and citizens. Proceeding from this, stances were proposed relating to the further democratization of our political life and to making our work more public.

The delegates especially pointed out the need for a radical change in the attitude toward the young generation, so that it may be more rapidly included in all the currents of social life and may become an actor in solving its own problems and in the development of society. In this connection, it was particularly stressed that the young generation, with such an attitude on the part of the LC, with the revolutionary spirit that it possesses, with its knowledge and creative energy, and

with its enthusiasm, will make a significant contribution to the way out of the crisis. We particularly emphasized this in the stances, and we considerably expanded the earlier proposal of the stances.

Several delegates in the discussion—this also is stated in the stances—particularly pointed out how unacceptable the ideas and proposals are about a return to single-party centralized statism or about the introduction of a multiparty system, ideas that have been expressed in some discussions about the theses for the preparation of the conference, as well as in the public discussions about the constitutional changes.

It was stressed that the delegate system should be further built so as to ensure the much greater and more direct influence of the workers, working people, and citizens, and to avoid formalism in decisionmaking. In this connection, a more resolute democratization of the election process was demanded, especially in the election of cadres for the most responsible offices. It was a general demand—and it was incorporated in the stances—that it should be an obligation to propose several candidates and that the elections should be direct and secret.

It was requested that account should be rendered without fail for the nonimplementation of the decisions and tasks set, especially by those in the highest party and state offices, and that they should bear concrete responsibility, including recall or resignation, for the nonimplementation of the policy and the decisions adopted. We attempted to incorporate all these requests in the stances proposed.

Conveying the opinions in the public discussion, the delegates advocated a federation in the interest of the workers class and the equality of the peoples and nationalities, a federation which, as a unified self-managing socialist community , will carry on the state and self-managing functions well and efficiently, according to its constitutional powers. Disagreement was expressed with the opinion that the advocacy of such functions for the Federation is a return to unitarism and centralism. At the same time, it was pointed out that the present inefficient organizing and decisionmaking does not provide an alternative.

This conference also confirmed—and the stances developed it rather extensively—that one of the essential conditions for implementing the Yugoslav Federation and the unity and stability of the entire country is the implementation of the precepts about the unity and togetherness in the SR of Serbia, and especially the solving of those questions that are tied to the constitutional amendments. One insists on energetic actions by the LC as a whole, and especially by the LCY Central Committee, the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, and the Provincial Committee of the LC of Kosovo, for consistent implementation of the conclusions of the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee on Kosovo, and on the realization of the obligations assumed in the Yugoslav Program for Kosovo: These obligations must be carried out by all in full.

The delegates requested that numerous social, economic, and development problems in the province be resolved more efficiently, and particularly that total security for the people be assured and that the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins be completely stopped. In this connection, special stress was laid on the question of responsibility and ideopolitical differentiation in Kosovo.

The conference insisted on a full affirmation and realization of the constitutionality and the rule of law in our society. It was requested that every institution in the system carry out its role and responsibility determined by the law, that full protection of social property be ensured, and that the LC should wage an energetic struggle against the worrying occurrences of usurpation of social property, bribery, corruption, illegal acts, and violations of social norms and of the norms of socialist morals.

Although this was not the chief subject of the conference, the question of the further development and strengthening of all-people's defense and social self-protection had a prominent place in the discussion. The delegates demanded that in this complex situation and in the grave tasks that it must solve, the LC must do everything so that the processes of socializing defense and security be continued and that the level achieved in the defense capability of our society be preserved.

The attacks on the concept of all-people's defense and the Yugoslav People's Army were most sharply denounced in the discussion and demands were expressed that ideopolitical, legal, and other measures be energetically taken so as to unmask and combat them.

The conference strongly stressed the need that the leading ideopolitical role of the LCY should be consistently implemented in keeping with the LCY Program precepts, and that we should return to the original precepts of the LCY Program. A resolute demand was expressed that the responsibility and unity of its ranks be strengthened. In the opinion of the delegates, this is the basic prerequisite for successful implementation of socialist self-management and the strengthening of brotherhood, unity, and equality of our peoples.

In this respect they conveyed the opinions of the members expressed in the discussions preceding the conference to the effect that nothing contributes to the disintegration of Yugoslavia as much as various barriers, making partial interests absolute, national egoism, [word indistinct] quarrels, and undemocratic bargaining with one's own partial interests and the interests of others, and various compromises reached on this basis, at the expense of the unified interest of the workers class of Yugoslavia.

There is a resolute demand that the LC should reaffirm its revolutionary workers and class course and that in this crisis situation it should be manifested as the revolutionary organization firmly embedded in the workers class, under its direct influence and control. Such a request was accepted as a basic starting point for its transformation, its ideopolitical, organizational, action, and cadre advancement, which is to say the democratic renovation of the LC.

The discussion particularly stressed the need to reaffirm the principle of democratic centralism as an urgent condition for strengthening ideological unity and unity in action at all levels of LC organizing. Current vacillations, inconsistency, and deviations from this principle were sharply criticized. Different views on this principle were expressed on this program and statutory tenet. True, there were some individual questions as to whether the LCY needs this principle today at all.

The delegates spoke very substantively and in a critical way about relations between the minority and the majority. According to the critical warnings that some delegates made in the discussion, views that offered solutions that could lead to the further federalization of relations and to breaking LCY unity also exist.

Such views were not accepted in a well-argued discussion. These views also tried to copy the practice of building and achieving the democratic centralism of long time ago, a practice that was conducted under different conditions. The conference is of the view that the LCY must be resolute in its struggle to achieve the essence of the principle of democratic centralism. Democratic centralism assumes the broadest creative expression of the initiative of every member, every organization, and organ in a democratic process of creating policy and making decisions, and is at the same time united and lasting on what has been agreed and decided on in a democratic way. This means that the minority, by being free to keep it own views, must consistently and in a creative way carry out the decisions of the majority. Any different behavior could open the way to factionalism and breaking of the LC unity in action.

The proposed views express demands for a more resolute turnabout in conducting and realizing the cadre policy, greater democratization, bolder disposal of those unable, and election of young, expert, and morally pure people. A resolute call was made for the elimination of the practice according to which the top posts have been filled with the same cadre for many years. The delegates particularly stressed the need to have lists of more candidates during elections and to adopt the secret ballot system at all levels of LC organizing, for all posts in the LC organs.

A great number of delegates called for more resolute differentiation in the LCY. A strong call was made for this differentiation to start in the LCY Central Committee, and in the Central Committees of the regional LC's and their executive political organs, and that it encompass the entire membership of our organization.

A large number of delegates spoke critically about the situation and relations with in the LCY leaderships. They spoke about the ways and means of their work, about vacillations, sluggishness, and inconsistency in implementing the resolutions of the 13th congress. It was assessed that the organs of the LC generally act from the position of authority, that they are full of bureaucracy and alienated from the social base, burdened by frequent and lengthy forum-like work and essentially unproductive meetings and the piling up of conclusions. Because of this type work, there are no real actions in the LC to control the implementation of the agreed-on policy, and the accountability for deviating from the established policy.

The criticism of a number of delegates was addressed to the work of the republican and provincial LC organs. It was said that they did not display sufficient responsibility in building LCY unity, that they are insufficiently fulfilling the role that they should have in ensuring unified LC activities in order to realize the democratically established LCY Central Committee policy.

At times it looked as if, as was stated in the discussion, they represent organs of some special parties which, although in principle accept the LCY Central Committee stands, often act on their own and as they please, relying more on the state organs and their community's management apparatus rather than on the action and creativity of the membership, the working people, and citizens.

In their discussion about the theses, the delegates, like the members, spoke very critically about the federalization tendency of the LCY, which in their view has seriously undermined the unity of the LCY. However, some delegates warned that some assessments of the causes and consequences of federalization in the LCY are too one-sided, that they do not sufficiently take into account the specific and objectively different conditions for acting. It was also said that the LCY is in danger of tendencies toward unitarianism and bureaucratic centralism, which strive for a firm hand, unquestionable discipline, and party monolithism, which could threaten the process of both society and the LC.

The sharpest criticisms were addressed to the LCY Central Committee and to its Presidium in particular. The delegates are of the opinion that these organs are the most responsible for slow and inconsistent implementation of the congress resolutions, for the inefficient way of overcoming differences and open conflicts, and for failing to achieve greater unity in the action of the LCY on the tasks that would facilitate overcoming the socioeconomic crisis faster.

The delegates demand that the stands more emphatically stress the role and responsibility of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium for unified action on solving the most important issues. They demanded that the Central Committee consistently fulfill its obligation, that it regularly follow and assess the activities of some

part of the LC on the realization of a unified policy. There were many proposals as to how to remove the weaknesses and change the organization and method of work of the Central Committee organs. It was particularly insisted that the role of the Presidium as the executive-political organ of the LCY be realized more consistently, and that some changes be made in its organization and method of work, and, as we added in the stands, in its cadres.

In that respect the working group extended the text of the stands' basis. It was accepted that a proposal be made to the Central Committee to critically review, bearing in mind all criticisms made by the delegates in their proposal, the work of the Presidium as its executive political organ at its next session. The proposal was also accepted that the LCY Central Committee assess the need for some new cadre solutions in the Central Committee and its working bodies, and to carry out further democratization of the entire procedure of the election of the top LCY organs, and that in future there be more candidates on the lists than those that will be elected, including the posts of the president and the secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

The conference very clearly showed that the main direction of the LC's ideological struggle is the struggle for the further development of the system of associated labor and socialist self-management. As was stressed in the discussion, this means that we must improve our ideological concepts and our theoretical knowledge of the basis how to realize this system more successfully, and prove ourselves in practice as a force that knows and can remove the existing obstacle on this road, overcome lagging behind and stagnation, and through continuous achievements prove not only the ideological and theoretical correctness and scientific foundation of its revolutionary strategy, but also its practical applicability.

The conference very decisively stated that the ideological struggle of the LC for the further development of socialist self-management and the ideological struggle against antisocialist ideologies and forces constitute an inseparable unit. There is no ideological and political struggle for progressive social changes that would not at the same time be a struggle against the causes, forces, and relations that cause and reproduce reactionary, conservative thought and practice.

In the discussion, the delegates stressed the great responsibility of the LC in the struggle against the forces that oppose socialist self-management, the equality, brotherhood, and unity of the peoples and nationalities, the concept of all people's defense, and social self-protection, and those who are undermining the material basis of the country. Today these forces are acting in an increasingly organized and open way, trying to win social legitimacy and at the same time establish parternership relations with the LC and all socialist forces.

The conference particularly pointed out that the struggle against nationalism can only be successful if it is carried out with the same resoluteness against all supporters of nationalist ideology and practice. The conference took a clear stand that the struggle against nationalism in our conditions assumes above all the most resolute struggle for the workers class content of our revolution, for the further development of the idea and the practice of associated labor, and socialist self-management. Only on this basis can we make way for the further self-managing integration of Yugoslavia and overcome every form of nationalist exclusiveness and practice.

Many other questions were put forward in the discussion on the work of the LC, its ideological struggle, Marxist education, more suitable organization, more energetic action by Communists in the SAWP, the social structure of the LCY, the tendency of an increasing number of workers and youth to leave the LC, and a quicker adoption of unified membership fees, about which a decision has already been made by the LCY Central Committee. The role of the membership of basic organizations in the creation and realization of LC policy was particularly stressed.

There were also proposals along this line that, if a decisive and radical turnaround did not come about and if action was not consistently taken on the implementation of the stances of this conference, then an extraordinary congress of the LCY would be called. The working group held a comprehensive discussion on this and assessed that it was not necessary to particularly emphasize this in the stances and cast doubt in advance on the opinion that the conference's stands would be consistently implemented.

The working group suggests to the conference that it accept the stance that, before the end of the year, the LCY Central Committee should thoroughly analyze how to implement the stances of this conference and especially the necessary changes in the economic and political system, as well as changes in the contents of the method of work of the LC, which are prerequisites for society's way out of the crisis, and inform the LCY membership and the public as a whole of its assessments. If the LCY Central Committee asserts that the results were not satisfactory, then it has the duty to show and confirm its own responsibility for that and to begin establishing the political responsibility of the provincial central committees of the LC and of Communists in responsible positions in the institutions of the system. It is also obliged to energetically and decisively use all chances and duties to consistently implement the LC's policy on these questions, which is clearly contained in the stances on the proposed stands of our conference.

A number of proposals sought changes that are not in harmony with the statute of the LCY. The working group was unable to incorporate such views in the conference

document, but it thinks that these must be taken into consideration when discussions are opened on changes to the Statute of the LCY and the preparations for the next congress.

There was also the proposal that the LCY Central Committee set up a special commission that would be more essentially concerned with the problems of realizing the leading role of the LC and its transformation, and would propose ideological and theoretical prerequisites for the reform of the LCY.

Not all justified comments and proposals could be incorporated into the final text of the proposed stances, and particularly not those that did not concern the subject of the conference. It was proposed in these comments and proposals that the LC Central Committee be the subject of consideration by means of specific questions at future meetings for the preparations for the next congress.

The working group also thinks that the Central Committee should also particularly consider other suggestions and themes submitted at the conference and, on this basis, formulate its opinion on these proposals, questions, and amendments to its program of work.

We did not take into consideration those formulations, proposals, and suggestions that were based on theoretical and insufficiently reasoned arguments, since the task of the conference was not to solve contentious questions of science and theory, but primarily to formulate clear ideopolitical stances and directions of action for the LCY.

Because of the lack of time and the numerous proposals and initiatives submitted by the delegates, we were unable to make editorial and stylistic adjustments. We propose that the conference authorize a working group to do this job directly after the conference.

Despite all our efforts, we were not able to satisfy the demand of the membership and delegates that this document be shorter and more concise, because we in the working group, as well as most of the delegates, also proposed a broadening of the text through numerous proposals.

We also did not accept some demands from individual organizations on the discussion of the theses that deviate from programmatic and congress opinions and concern the realization of the leading role of the LCY and its organization and activity on the basis of the principle of democratic socialism. We are talking about demands for the development of the activities of the LC on the bases of unitaristic-centralist concepts with the ideological recidivism of dogmatic conservatism, or demands which, under the guise of the democratization of relations, want to in fact destroy the revolutionary workers class character of the LCY and build its position on the renovation of bourgeois models of political organization.

We believe that those recommendations that seek the scrapping of the republican and provincial LC's and aspire to monolithism without democracy are unacceptable, as well as those that want to divide the ideology and policy of the LCY.

We hope that, by accepting most of the proposals, we have expressed not only individual demands, but also the spirit and character of the conference that has openly faced problems and decided on more daring steps in the development of socialist thought and practice. All of which offers the possibility to find solutions for the country to find a quicker way out of the socioeconomic crisis. The working group states that in its critical, creative, and constructive relations, the conference has managed to overcome a string of differences that were manifested in discussions for the preparation of the conference and reach unity in the main directions of the action of the LC for a quicker way out of the crisis. On this basis, I propose to the delegates that they endorse the stands from the proposed amendments in the document. Thank you.

Krunic Closes Conference

AU3105210188 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1852 GMT 31 May 88

[Speech by Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the second plenary session of the LCY Conference held in the Sava Center in Belgrade on 31 May—live]

[Text] Allow me, comrades, at the end our job, to first of all express my thanks on behalf of all delegates and participants of the conference to the journalists and reporters of the public information media, and their editorial boards, for comprehensively reporting to the public on the work of the conference. On behalf of everyone, I would also like to express my thanks to the city of Belgrade, which again, in an already good tradition, has provided the delegates with hospitality and all facilities for their work. I would also like to express my thanks to the workers of the Sava Center, who have very professionally offered their services to the conference for its successful work.

Comrades, we have come to the end of our 3 days of work; we have adopted the stands, and this is now the basis for the operative work in the Central Committee, as well as in all other LC organs and organizations. We can rightly conclude that this conference is a strong impetus for the party's entire political work and the ideopolitical involvement of all members and organizations. As never before, we conducted intensive work throughout the conference, we had the complete involvement of all participants in the conference, working discipline, and in the planned time we have done everything through democratic and responsible discussions. At times, digressions were made in some discussions, but in no way did they cast a shadow on the great importance of this 3-day debate, which was inspired by the 13th

congress and the efforts and wishes for its realization. This was a debate in which 431 delegates took part and, by this, confirmed the great interest of their delegating constituency, the entire membership, and all the working people for the more rapid overcoming of the crisis.

Many topical questions were not bypassed in the debate, despite the fact that—because of their subject and the limited scope of the conference—we attached secondary importance to them in the documents, at least to some extent, or it appeared to the delegates that we did so. This was the reason for pressure for the stands to be complemented, both through amendments and in discussions, particularly in some areas such as agriculture, some aspects of social policy, party organization and work, and so forth.

Tonight, we are leaving this conference and are going to our workplaces without doubts and with the belief that, without exceptions and without any excuses, we have discussed everything in a critical and open way. Criticisms have been made and expressed at the conference, and they were most often addressed to the LC leadership and to the leading organs in society in general. Criticism was sharp, the LC leaderships were seriously warned about the membership's and the working people's dissatisfaction.

The conference as a whole drives us forward, and in my opinion this is its fundamental characteristic. The conference is an expression of the workers and class consciousness within the LC and, without doubt, leads to the progressive changes for which we strive. One of the delegates said: Trust has become weaker, but has not been lost. I would like to say that this conference is also criticism and name-calling, as well as a chance for the leadership, above all for them, to prepare themselves by means of major changes in their work, and to make bold moves in a united way.

We cannot continue in the old way. The most important thing is that at this conference we achieved full unity on the economic and social reforms that we are just starting. Everything has been more or less prepared, and everything that we can do now must not be postponed for later. Everything that is seen as necessary for the realization of the adopted measures is our immediate task wherever work is done, decisions are made, organizations are created, and problems are solved. All the things that need not wait for the constitutional changes are already a topic for today. And everything that must wait for the constitutional changes may be prepared by the time they are adopted. Therefore, there should be no delay in changes. Now we must organize ourselves everywhere, like a military staff, starting from the basic organizations, local communes, communes and regions, to the republics, provinces, and the Federation. "Onward with changes" is our motto and the alpha and omega of our policy and of the conference's stands today.

Furthermore: efficiency, the quick reaching of agreements, a synchronization of work, individual and collective responsibility, incentives and mobilization—these are the reasons for us not waiting, for us not lazing about, for overcoming idleness, negligence, freewheeling, and particularly ignorance.

It is perhaps clearer now that our conference is a somewhat delayed intervention because of our slowness and errors, the state of negative movements, delays and obstruction to the implementation of significant political decisions of the 13th LCY Congress. However, if one never begins, one is late. This is the way we should understand the stances adopted today and the obligations arising from them.

We in Yugoslavia long ago abandoned a system in order to build another. We abandoned administrative socialism in order to build socialist self-management and freedoms and democracy, richer and more substantive. Despite all the difficulties, we have searched and we have succeeded through a dialectic comprehension of the revolution as a process of constant changes. We have now definitely confronted the bitter realization that we have been neglecting this imperative of the revolution for some time. We must more boldly abandon one life to enter another.

These are the reforms, this is the renovation, here lies the indispensability of changes. The trust that the LC still enjoys multiplies our obligations. A delegate yesterday said the following: The LCY is not a tired flock. The conference, with its critical spirit, confirmed precisely that we possess the strength to pull away from great shortcomings and from great errors.

Allow me to say the following, too: At one time we had letters by Tito and the Executive Bureau that mobilized Communists so that they could struggle against deformations in the LC and in society. It happens that we tend to forget this. This is not good. Those who do not remember the past are fated to repeat it. This is an old wisdom. We must not turn a deaf ear to sharp warnings about the deformations that are now bigger and graver than they used to be.

Publicly and responsibly, democratically, and respecting the integrity of people, we must legalize full control over the question of incomes, control over the work of all individuals and organs. We must find out what is the truth and what are intrigues. We must preserve the dignity of people, but we must also protect social property, morals, and the high prestige that the LC has always had and has built painstakingly, over a long time. This is extremely important at present, and therefore I mention it.

The mobilization of both the members and the leaderships about which we speak has sense if it is based on positive programs, and on a specific and recognizable orientation. If many LC members are passive, let us

mobilize them, let us get them going. Differentiation only makes sense in work if it is carried out along the line dividing work from shirking work.

This conference is a working accord, which with its overall content grows above its statute role and contributes to mobilization at this crucial moment. From this point of view, there is no place for pessimism.

The Central Committee Presidium will immediately begin preparations for a Central Committee session and for work, but I want to repeat that this is the obligation of all the LC leaderships. A warning has been sounded here in this sense, and this is how we should understand the obligations of all and of everybody:

Unity and responsibility in practice every day, without big words and without historical reminiscences, because difficult and responsible work is in store for us tomorrow.

The most important thing is that all of us here have shown how resolved and prepared we are to change the situation. Time will show to what extent all this was necessary and indispensable. It is now up to the Central Committee to take the initiative, but it is also up to all of us here, and there should be no doubt about it. Convinced that we have here confirmed and determined the road of action and efficiency, responsibility, and more intensive work in the LC in general, that we will contribute in this way to the very necessary unity of our League, I proclaim that the LCY Conference has concluded its work. [applause]

I wish you bon voyage and successful work! [applause]